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CONTAINING

Whatever is worthy of Notice, in

EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA and AMERICA:

IN RESPECT TO

The Situation and Extent of Empires, Kingdoms, and Provinces; their Climates, Soil, Produce, &c.

WITH

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A COLLECTION OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

The VOYAGE of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE round the Globe.

THE learned Camden informs us, that ſir Francis Drake was the ſon of a clergyman, who, in the time of queen Elizabeth, became vicar of Upnore, on the river Medway. But the induſtrious John Stowe ſays, that he was the eldeſt of twelve brethren, all children of Edmund Drake, of Taviſtock, in the county of Devon, mariner; and that he was born in the year 1540. The only way to reconcile theſe accounts, is to ſuppoſe that Edmund Drake, being a zealous Proteſtant, ſuffering much for his religion in the days of Henry VIII. and, having likewiſe a competent ſhare of learning, was ordained deacon in the days of queen Elizabeth, and ſettled at Upnore. As for our hero, he received the Chriſtian name of Francis from his godfather Francis earl of Bedford: but it does not appear, that he obtained any great benefit from that nobleman's patronage in his youth; for as ſoon as he was able, he was ſent to ſea, apprentice to the maſter of a ſmall bark trading to France and Zealand; who, having a great affection for the lad, and being himſelf a bachelor, when he came to die, left

him his bark. At the age of eighteen Mr. Drake was made purſer of a ſhip, which went to the Bay of Biſcay; and at twenty he made a voyage to the coaſt of Guinea. In all theſe voyages he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his extraordinary courage, and by a ſagacity very unuſual in perſons of his age. His laudable deſire of glory induced him to venture all that he had in the world in a voyage to the Weſt Indies in the year 1565, but in this he had no ſucceſs. In 1567, he ſerved under his kinſman ſir John Hawkins, in the bay of Mexico; but was ſtill unfortunate, returning from thence rich in point of fame, but, as to his circumſtances, in a manner undone. Theſe diſappointments ſerved only to heighten his reſentment and therefore he made two voyages more into thoſe parts, the firſt in 1570, with two Ships, the Dragon and Swan; the ſecond in 1571, in the Swan alone, purely for the ſake of information, and that he might qualify himſelf for undertaking ſomething of importance in thoſe parts, which by his courage and perſeverance, he brought to bear.

His character being now ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he found enow ready to venture part of their fortunes in a voyage he propoſed; for which having made all things ready, he ſailed May the 24th, 1572, in the Paſca of Plymouth, which was of no greater burden than ſeventy ton; having for his conſort the Swan, of two hundred fifty ton, commanded by his brother John Drake, with ſeventy-three men and boys, and proviſions for a year. Such was the preparation he made for attacking the King of Spain in the Weſt Indies, which he believed he had a right to do, in order to make repriſals for what he had ſuffered by his ſubjects. In this voyage he ſacked the famous town of Nombre de Dios, and ſoon after ſaw from an high tree, the South Seas; which ſight inflamed him with a violent deſire of carrying an Engliſh ſhip thither, an attempt never made, perhaps never thought of, before that time. In this

expedition he acquired immenſe riches for his owners, as well as himſelf; being a man of ſuch generoſity, that he ſcorned to take even thoſe advantages, which any other man would have conſidered as his right; of which we have a very remarkable inſtance in his behaviour, on a preſent made him by a captain or prince of the free Indians inhabiting the iſthmus of Darien, who, in return for a cutlaſs preſented him by captain Drake, gave him four large wedges of gold, which he threw into the common ſtock: "My owners, ſaid he, gave me that cutlaſs, "and it is but juſt they ſhould have their ſhares "of its produce. His return to England was as fortunate as his foreign expedition; for, in twenty-three days, he ſailed from the cape of Florida, to the iſles of Scilly; and arrived at Plymouth on Sunday Auguſt the 9th, 1573, in ſermon-time. The news of captain Drake's return being carried into the church, there remained few or no people with the preacher, all running out to obſerve the bleſſing of God upon the dangerous adventures of the captain, who had ſpent one year, two months, and ſome odd days, in this voyage. The wealth he had thus acquired, he generouſly ſpent in his country's ſervice, equipping no leſs than three frigates at his own expence, which he commanded in perſon, and with which he contributed greatly to the reduction of the rebellious Iriſh, under the conduct of that worthy nobleman Walter earl of Eſſex. After his death, he choſe for his patron ſir Chriſtopher Hatton, at that time vicechamberlain to the queen, and afterwards chancellor of England: by his intereſt, notwithſtanding great oppoſition, captain Drake obtained the queen's commiſſion for that voyage, which he had ſo long meditated.

He was no ſooner thus provided, than his friends contributed largely toward this glorious expedition; and captain Drake, on his ſide, applied with equal diligence to the getting every thing ready for accom-

pliſhing his undertaking; and, with this view, equipped five ſhips, viz. the Pelican, called by him afterwards the Hind, admiral, burden an hundred tons, Francis Drake, captain general; the Elizabeth, vice-admiral, eighty tons, John Winter, captain; the Marigold, a bark, of thirty tons, John Thomas, captain; the Swan, a fly-boat, of fifty tons, captain John Cheſter; and the Chriſtopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, captain Thomas Moon. Theſe ſhips he manned with one hundred and ſixty-four able men, and furniſhed them with ſuch plentiful proviſion of all things neceſſary, as ſo long and dangerous a voyage ſeemed to require: withal ſtowing certain pinnaces aboard in pieces, to be ſet up as occaſion might call for. Neither did he omit to make proviſion alſo for ornament and delight, carrying for this purpoſe with him expert muſicians, rich furniture, all the veſſels for his table, and many belonging to his cook-room, being of ſilver; with divers utenſils of all ſorts, of curious workmanſhip; whereby the civility and magnificence of his native country might, among all nations, whither he ſhould come, be the more admired. All things being thus adjuſted, captain Drake ſailed out of Plymouth Sound November the 5th, 1577, about five in the afternoon; but by a fearful ſtorm, wherein they ſuſtained ſome damage, he was forced to put back again; when, having, in few days, ſupplied all defects, on the 13th of December, the ſame year, with more favourable winds, he once more hoiſted his ſails and put to ſea. He avoided, as much as he could, falling in too early with the land; and the wind favouring his deſign, they made none, till the 25th of the ſame month they fell in with Cape Cautin, on the coaſt of Barbary, and, on the 27th, came to the iſle of Magador, lying one mile diſtance from the main, between which and the iſle they found a very ſafe and convenient harbour. Here the admiral directed a pinnace to be built, having brought, as we obſerved, the hulks

hulks of four ready framed from England. While they were upon this work, ſome of the inhabitants came to the water-ſide ſhewing flags of peace; upon which the admiral ſent out his boat to know their minds: one of his men ſtayed as a pledge amongſt them, and two of their company were brought a ſhip-board. They told him by ſigns, that the next day they would furniſh his ſhips with good proviſions, which civility he rewarded with linen cloth, ſhoes, and a javelin, things very acceptable to them; and ſo they departed. The next day they came as they had promiſed, and one of the men, whoſe name was Fry, leaping out of the boat amongſt them, thinking to have leaped into the arms of friends, made himſelf the priſoner of thoſe perfidious wretches, who, threatening to ſtab him if he made any reſiſtance, preſently mounted him a horſeback, and carried him up into their country; from whence, however, after examination, he was ſent ſafely back.

The pinnace being finiſhed, they ſet ſail December the 30th, and January the 17th they arrived at Cape Blanco, where they found a ſhip at anchor within the cape, having only two mariners in her: this ſhip they took, and carried her into the harbour, where they ſtayed four days: in which time the admiral muſtered his men aſhore, to prepare them for land, as well as ſea-ſervice. Here they took of the fiſhermen ſuch neceſſaries as they wanted, and alſo one of their barks of about forty ton, leaving behind them a little bark of their own. They left this harbour January the 22d, carrying along with them one of the Portugueſe caravels, which was bound to the iſles of Cape de Verd for ſalt; the maſter of the caravel aſſured the admiral, that in one of the Cape de Verd iſlands, called Mayo, there was a good ſtore of dried cabritos, or goats, which were every year made ready for ſuch ſhips of the king's as called there. They came to this place January the 27th;

but the inhabitants would drive no trade with them, the king's orders having poſitively forbade it: yet the next day they went to take a view of the iſland, the admiral ſending out a company of men for that purpoſe. They marched towards the chief place of the iſle, and, having travelled through the mountains for three days, they came thither before day-break: they found that the inhabitants were all run away, but, as for the country, by the manuring, it appeared to be more fruitful, than the other part of the iſland. They reſted themſelves here a while, and banqueted upon delicious grapes, and cocoa-nuts, which were in their prime even at that ſeaſon of the year, which is the depth of winter with us in England.

Having ſatisfied themſelves with theſe fruits, they marched farther into the iſland, and ſaw great ſtore of cabritos; but they could take none of them, though, if they had pleaſed, they might have furniſhed themſelves with ſome that were old, dead, and dried, which the people had laid out on purpoſe for them: but, not caring for the refuſe of the iſland, they returned to their ſhips, with an account of what they had ſeen.

January the 21ſt, they went from hence, and ſailed by the iſle St. Jago; in paſſing by which, the people diſcharged three pieces of cannon at them, but without doing miſchief. The iſland is fair and large, inhabited by Portugueſe; but the mountains are poſſeſſed by the Moors, who, to deliver themſelves from ſlavery, fled to theſe places of refuge, where they have fortified themſelves. Before this iſland they ſaw two ſhips under ſail, one of them which they took, and found to be a good prize, laden with wines: the admiral retained the pilot, but diſcharged the ſhip and the men, giving them ſome victuals, a butt of wine, and their wearing cloaths *. The ſame night

* The reaſon of taking theſe ſhips was, that at this time Portugal was annexed to the crown of Spain.

they

they came to the iſland Del Fogo, or the Burning Iſland, which is inhabited by Portugueſe: on the north ſide there is a ſort of vulcano, that is continually belching out ſmoke and flame: on the ſouth ſide lies a very delightful iſland, full of trees ever green and flouriſhing, and refreſhed with cooling ſtreams, that pour themſelves out into the ſea. Here was no convenient road for their ſhips, the ſea being ſo deep, that there was no poſſibility of fixing an anchor thereabout. Leaving theſe iſlands, they drew toward the line, being ſometimes becalmed for a long time together, and, at others, beaten with tempeſts. They had continually great plenty of fiſh, as dolphins, bonitos, and flying-fiſh, ſome of which dropt down into their ſhips, and could not riſe again, becauſe their finny wings wanted moiſture.

From the firſt day of their departure from the iſlands of cape Verde, they ſailed 54 days without ſight of land; and the firſt which they ſaw was the coaſt of Braſil, in 38° of ſouth latitude. April the 5th, the barbarous people on ſhore, having diſcovered the ſhips, began to uſe their accuſtomed ceremonies, in order to raiſe a ſtorm to ſink their ſhips: For this purpoſe they made great fires, and offered ſome ſacrifices to the devil; but at preſent, it ſeems, he was not able to ſerve them. April the 7th, they had lightning, rain, and thunder; in which ſtorm they loſt the company of a little bark, the Chriſtopher; but the 11th they found her again; and the place where all the ſhips, that were diſperſed in the ſearch of her, met together, the admiral called Cape Joy, and here every ſhip took in freſh water. The country hereabouts was fair and pleaſant, the air ſweet and mild, the ſoil rich and fruitful. The inhabitants ſeemed to be only ſome herds of wild deer, no others being to be ſeen, though they diſcerned the foot-ſteps of ſome people in the ground. Having weighed anchor, and run a little farther, they found a ſmall

harbour between a rock and the main, where the rock breaking the force of the ſea, the ſhip rode very ſafely. Upon this rock they killed ſeveral ſeals, keeping them for food, and found them wholeſome, though not pleaſant.

Their next courſe being to 36° of ſouth latitude, they entered the great river of Plate, and came into between 53 and 54 fathom of freſh water; but, finding no good harbour there, they put out to ſea again. Sailing on, they came to a good bay; in which bay were ſeveral pretty iſlands, one of which was ſtocked with ſeals, and the others, for the moſt part, with fowls, ſo that there was no want of any proviſions, or of good water there. The admiral being on ſhore in one of thoſe iſlands, the people came dancing and leaping about him, and were very free to trade: but their cuſtom was not to take any thing from any other perſon, unleſs firſt thrown down on the ground. They were comely ſtrong-bodied people, very ſwift of foot, and of a briſk lively conſtitution. The Marigold, and the Chriſtopher, (being ſent to diſcover a convenient harbour) returned with the happy news of ſuch an one; into which they went with all their ſhips. Here the ſeals abounded to that degree, that they killed more than 200 in an hour's ſpace. The natives came boldly and confidently about them, while they were working on ſhore; their faces were painted, and their apparel only a covering of beaſt-ſkins (with the fur on) about their waiſts, and ſomething wreathed about their heads. They had bows an ell long, but no more than two arrows a-piece. They ſeemed to be not altogether deſtitute of martial diſcipline, as appeared by the method they obſerved in ordering and ranging their men; and they gave ſufficient proof of their agility, by ſtealing the admiral's hat off from his very head; which was a brave prize among them: one taking the hat, and another the gold lace that

was

was on it; neither of which could ever be got from them again. They were the nation which Magellan called Patagons.

Having diſpatched all affairs in this place, they ſailed; and June the 20th, they anchored in port St. Julian, ſo called by Magellan. Here they ſaw the gibbet on which Magellan had formerly executed ſome of his mutinous company: and here alſo admiral Drake executed one captain Doughty, the moſt ſuſpected action of his life. After which execution, Auguſt the 17th, they left St. Julian's port, and the 20th fell in with the ſtreight of Magellan, going into the South Sea. The 21ſt they entered the ſtreight, which they found to lie very intricate and crooked, with divers turnings; by which means, ſhifting about ſo often, the wind would ſometimes be againſt them, which made their ſailing very troubleſome, and not only ſo, but dangerous too, eſpecially if any ſudden blaſts of wind came: for, though there be ſeveral good harbours about, and freſh water enough, yet the ſea is ſo deep, that there is no anchoring there, except in ſome very narrow river or corner, or between the rocks. There are vaſt mountains, covered with ſnow, that ſpread along the land on both ſides the ſtreights; the tops of which mount up in the air to a prodigious height, having two or three regions of clouds lying in order below them. The ſtreights are extremely cold, with froſt and ſnow continually: yet the trees and plants maintain a conſtant verdure, and flouriſh notwithſtanding the ſeeming ſeverity of the weather. At the ſouth and eaſt parts of the ſtreight there are various iſlands, between which the ſea breaks into the ſtreights, as it does into the main entrance: The breadth of it is from one league, where it is the narroweſt, to two, three, or four leagues, which is the wideſt; and the tides riſe high through the whole.

September the 6th they entered the South Sea at the cape or head ſhore, and the 7th they were driven

by a ſtorm back from that entrance more than 200 leagues longitude, and 1° to the ſouth of the ſtreight; from the bay they were driven ſouthwards of the Streights, in 57° of ſouth latitude, where they anchored among the iſlands, finding good freſh water, and excellent herbs. Not far from hence, they entered another bay, where they found naked people, ranging from one iſland to another in their canoes, to ſeek proviſions. Theſe traded with them for ſuch commodities as they had. Sailing northward from hence, they found three iſlands, in one of which was ſuch plenty of birds, as is hardly credible. October the 8th, they loſt the company of the ſhip, in which was Mr. Winter. Being now come to the other mouth of the ſtreights, they put away towards the coaſt of Chili, which the general maps place to the ſouth-weſt, but they found afterwards to lie to the north-eaſt and eaſterly; ſo that thoſe coaſts were either not fully diſcovered, or at leaſt not faithfully deſcribed. They proceeded ſtill in the ſame courſe, till, upon the 29th of November, they came to the iſle of Mocha, where they caſt anchor, and the admiral, with ten men, went aſhore. The people that dwelt there, were ſuch as the extreme cruelty of the Spaniards had forced from their own habitation to this iſland, to preſerve their lives and liberties. They carried themſelves at firſt very civilly to the admiral and his men, bringing them potatoes, and two fat ſheep, promiſing alſo to bring them water; for which they received ſome preſents. The next day two men were ſent aſhore with barrels for water; and the natives, having them at an advantage, preſently ſeized them, and knocked them on the head. The reaſon of this outrage was, becauſe they took them for Spaniards, whom they never ſpare when they fall into their hands.

Continuing their courſe for Chili, and drawing near the coaſts of it, they met an Indian in a canoe, who, miſtaking them for Spaniards, told them, that

at

at St. Iago there was a great Spaniſh ſhip laden for Peru. The admiral rewarding him for his intelligence, he very readily conducted them where the ſhip lay at anchor, which was port Val Pariſo, in 33° 40′ of ſouth latitude. All the men they had in her were no more than eight Spaniards and three negroes; and they, ſuppoſing the Engliſh to have been friends, welcomed them by beat of drum, and invited them to drink ſome Chili wine with them. But they, reſolving firſt to ſecure their prize, and then drink, immediately boarded the ſhip, and, driving all the Spaniards under hatches, took poſſeſſion. One of the Spaniards, ſeeing how they were ſerved, deſperately leaped overboard, and ſwam to the town of St. Iago, to give them notice of the coming of the Engliſh; upon which, all the inhabitants preſently quitted the town, and ran away, which they might quickly do, there not being above nine houſholds in the whole town. The admiral and his men entered, rifled the town and the chapel, taking out of it a ſilver chalice, two cruets, and an altar-cloth. They found in the town alſo a good cargo of Chili wine, and boards of cedar wood; all which they carried to their ſhips. The general then having ſet all the priſoners on ſhore, except one, whom he reſerved for his pilot, he left St. Iago, and directed his courſe for Lima, the capital of Peru.

As they were now at ſea, and had both leiſure and opportunity to examine the particulars of the booty taken at St. Iago, they found 25,000 pezoes of pure gold of Baldivia, which amounted to ſomewhat more than 37,000 Spaniſh ducats: So, continuing their courſe to Lima, they put into the haven of Coquimbo, which lies in 29° 30′ S. L. Here the admiral ſent fourteen men aſhore to fetch water: but the Spaniards happening to ſpy this ſmall company, and being reſolved, for the glory of their nation, to undertake revenge upon ſo daring an enemy, they, with an army of 360 horſe, and 200 foot attacked

theſe

theſe fourteen Engliſh; and, after ſome diſpute, by the help of their guns, made a ſlaughter of one of them, the other thirteen coming back to the ſhip. After this, the Engliſh going again on ſhore to bury their dead man, the Spaniards put out a flag of truce; but they, believing their fidelity to be no greater than their courage, did not care to truſt them, and ſo went off. From hence they came to a port called Tarapaxa, where, being landed, they found a Spaniard aſleep upon the ſhore, with eighteen bars of ſilver lying by him, which came to about 4000 Spaniſh ducats: they did not diſturb the Spaniard's repoſe, but, taking the ſilver, left him to take out his nap. Not far from hence, going aſhore for water, they met a Spaniard and an Indian driving eight Peruvian ſheep, laden with very fine ſilver, every ſheep having two leather bags (containing fifty pounds weight each) on his back. They delivered the poor animals from their irkſome burdens, and lodged the bags in their own ſhips: after which, the Indian and Spaniard were permitted to drive on. They ſailed hence to Arica, which is in 8° 30′ of ſouth latitude; and, in this port, found three ſmall barks, which, being rifled, yielded them fifty-ſeven wedges of ſilver, each weighing about twenty pounds: They took no priſoners in the barks; for the men that belonged to them, fearing no ſtrangers coming thither, were all gone on ſhore to make merry amongſt themſelves. They did not aſſault the town, having not ſtrength enough for it: ſo, putting out to ſea again, they met with another little bark laden with linen cloth, part of which the admiral took, and ſo let her go, diſdaining to hurt others, where he could do himſelf no good.

February the 13th they came to the port of Lima, which lies in 11° 50′ ſouth latitude; and, having entered the haven, found there twelve ſail of ſhips lying faſt at anchor, with all their ſails down, without watch or guard, their maſters being all drinking and carouſing

carouſing aſhore: examining the contents of theſe ſhips, they found a cheſt full of rials of plate, great ſtore of ſilks and linen; all which plate they carried to their own ſhips, with part of the ſilks and linen. The admiral here had notice of another very rich ſhip, called the Cacafuego, which was gone towards Paita, which they purſuing thither, found that before their arrival, ſhe was gone for Panama: but, however, though they miſſed their intended prize, another (which they took in their purſuit of her to Panama) paid them the charge of their voyage: For, beſides the ropes, and other tackling for ſhips, which they found in her, ſhe yielded them eighty pounds weight of gold, together with a fine crucifix of the ſame metal, richly adorned with emeralds; all which, with ſome of the cordage, they ſeized: but reſolving ſtill to proceed in the purſuit of the Cacafuego, the admiral, to encourage his company, promiſed, that whoever firſt ſaw her, ſhould have his gold chain for a reward; which fell to the ſhare of Mr. John Drake, who firſt deſcried her about three o'clock. About ſix o'clock they came up with her, gave her three ſhots, ſtruck down her mizen, and boarded her. They found her full as rich and valuable as ſhe was reported to be, having aboard her thirteen cheſts full of rials of plate, eighty pounds weight of gold, a good quantity of Jewels, and twenty-ſix ton of ſilver bars. The place where this prize was taken, was called cape San Franciſco, about 150 leagues from Panama, and in 1° degree of north latitude. Among other rich pieces of plate, which they found in this ſhip, they met with a couple of very large ſilver bowls gilt, which belonged to the pilot of her: the admiral, ſeeing theſe, told him, that he had two fine bowls, but he muſt needs have one of them; which the pilot yielded to, not knowing how to help himſelf; and, to make it look leſs like compulſion, he preſented the other of them to the admiral's ſteward. Having ranſacked the Cacafuego, they

caſt her off; and, continuing their courſe to the weſt, they met with a ſhip laden with linen cloth, China diſhes, and ſilks of the ſame country; the owner of it was a Spaniard, then on board, from whom the admiral took a falcon, wrought with maſſy gold, with a great emerald ſet in the breaſt of it; beſides this, chuſing what he liked of the wares aboard this veſſel, and ſeizing the pilot for his own ſervice, he turned off the ſhip. This pilot brought them to the haven of Guatulco, the town adjacent to which had but (as he ſaid) ſeventeen Spaniards in it: having, therefore, put to ſhore, they marched directly to the town, and ſo up to the public hall of juſtice, where they found a court ſitting, and a judge ready to paſs ſentence upon a parcel of poor negroes, that were accuſed of a plot to fire the town: but the admiral's coming changed the ſcene of affairs at this court; for he, being judge himſelf, paſſed ſentence upon them all, both judges and criminals, to become his priſoners; which ſentence was preſently executed, and they were all carried away to the ſhips. Here he made the chief judge write to the townſmen, to keep at a diſtance, and not pretend to make any reſiſtance: ſo the town being cleared, they ranſacked it all over, finding no other valuable plunder than about a buſhel of rials of plate; only one of their company took a rich Spaniard flying out of the town, who paid him for his trouble in purſuing him, with a gold chain, and ſome jewels. Here the admiral ſetting aſhore ſome Spaniſh priſoners, and his old Portugueſe Pilot, whom he took at the iſland of cape de Verd, departed hence for the Iſland Canno: while they lay here, a certain Spaniſh ſhip, bound for the Philippine iſlands, came in their way, which they only lightened of a part of the burden of her merchandize, and ſo diſcharged her.

The admiral, now thinking he had, in ſome meaſure, revenged both the public injuries of his country, as well as his own private wrongs, upon the Spaniards,

niards, began to deliberate upon his return home: but which way he ſhould take, was the queſtion to be reſolved: to return by the ſtreights of the South Sea, he thought would be to throw himſelf into the hands of the Spaniards, who would probably there wait for him, with a far greater ſtrength than he could now cope with; for he had at this time but one ſhip left, not ſtrong, though it was a very rich one.

All things therefore conſidered, he reſolved to go round to the Moluccas, and ſo follow the courſe of the Portugueſe, to get home by the cape of Good Hope: but, being becalmed, he found it neceſſary to ſail more northerly to get a good wind. Upon this deſign they ſailed at leaſt 600 leagues, which was all the way they made from April 16. to June 3. June 5, being got into 43° of north latitude, they found the air exceſſive cold; and the further they went, the ſeverity of the weather was more intolerable: upon which ſcore they made toward the land, till they came into 38° north latitude, under which heighth of the pole they found a very good bay, and had a favourable wind to enter the ſame. Accordingly here they had ſome correſpondence with the people of the country, whoſe houſes lay all along upon the water-ſide. They ſent the admiral a preſent of feathers, and cawls of net-work, who entertained them with ſo much kindneſs and liberality, that the poor people were infinitely pleaſed. Though the country be cold, yet they ſo order the matter in the framing their houſes, as to live out of danger of ſtarving; for they ſurround them with a deep trench, upon the outmoſt edge of which they raiſe up great pieces of timber, which cloſe all together at the top like the ſpire of a ſteeple; their bed is the bare ground ſtrewed with ruſhes, and their fire-place in the middle, about which they all lie. The men go naked, the women wear a cloſe garment of bulruſhes, dreſſed after the manner of hemp,

hemp, which, faſtened about their middles, hangs down to their hips, and upon their ſhoulders they have a deer's ſkin; but their very good qualities make amends for their ordinary dreſs and figure, being extremely dutiful to their huſbands. The admiral had, quickly after, another preſent from them, which was feathers and bags of tobacco; a conſiderable body of them waiting upon him at the ſame time: they were all gathered together at the top of an hill, from whence their ſpeaker harangued the admiral, who lay below in his tent pitched at the bottom of the hill: when this was ended, they left their weapons, and came down, offering their own preſents, and, at the ſame time, civilly returning theſe which the admiral had made them. All the while, the women who remained above, poſſeſſed with a mad fury, tore their hair, and made dreadful howlings, which is the common muſic at their ſacrifices, ſomething of which nature was then ſolemnizing. The men below were better employed, attending very diligently to divine ſervice, then performed in the admiral's tent. Theſe circumſtances, though trivial in themſelves, are of conſequence in aſſerting our firſt diſcovery of California.

The news of the Engliſh being there, having ſpread about in the country, there came two ambaſſadors to the admiral, to tell him, that the king was coming to wait upon him, and deſired a token of peace to aſſure his ſafe conduct. The admiral having given this, the whole train began to march towards them, and that in very good and graceful order: in the front came a very comely perſon, bearing the Sceptre before the king, upon which hung two crowns, and three chains of a very great length: the crowns were made of net-work, and artificially wrought with feathers of many colours, and the chains were made of bones. Next to the ſceptre-bearer came the king himſelf, a very comely proper perſon, ſhewing an air of majeſty in all his deportment;

ment; he was ſurrounded by a guard of tall martial-looking men, who were all clad in ſkins. Next to theſe came the common people, having, to make the finer ſhew, painted their faces, ſome white, ſome black, and ſome of other colours; and all with their arms full of preſents, even the very children not excepted. The admiral drew up all his men in line of battle, and ſtood ready to receive them within his fortifications: at ſome diſtance from him, the whole train made a halt, and kept a profound ſilence, at which time the ſceptre-bearer made a ſpeech of half an hour long. This being ended, the ſame officer, of a Speech-maker, became a dancing-maſter, and, at the ſame time, ſtruck up a ſong, in both which he was followed by king, lords, and common people, who came ſinging and dancing up to the Admiral's fences. Being all ſet down there, after ſome preliminary compliments, the king made a ſolemn offer of his whole kingdom, and its dependences, to the admiral, deſiring him to take the ſovereignty upon him; and profeſſing, that he himſelf would be his very loyal ſubject: and, that this might not ſeem to be mere compliment and pretence, he did, by the conſent of his nobles there preſent, take off the illuſtrious crown of feathers from his own head, and fix it upon the admiral's; and, at the ſame time, inveſting him with the other enſigns of royalty, did, as much as in him lay, make him king of the country. The admiral accepted of his new-offered dignity, as her majeſty's repreſentative, in her name, and for her uſe; it being probable, that from this donation, whether made in jeſt or in earneſt, by theſe Indians, ſome real advantages might hereafter redound to the Engliſh nation and intereſt in thoſe parts. The common people diſperſed themſelves up and down every-where amongſt the admiral's tents, expreſſing an admiration and value for the Engliſh, to the degree of madneſs and profaneneſs; coming before them with ſacrifices, which they pretended to

offer with a profound devotion to them, till they, by force, kept them back, expreſſing their utmoſt abhorrence of them; and directed them to the Supreme Maker and Preſerver of all things, whom alone they ought to honour with religious worſhip. The admiral and his people travelled to ſome diſtance up in the country, which they found to be extremely full of deer, which were large and fat, and very often 1000 in a herd. There was alſo ſuch a vaſt plenty of rabbets, that the whole country ſeemed to be one intire great warren; they were of the bigneſs of a Barbary coney, their heads like thoſe in our parts, their feet like a mole's, and their tail reſembling that of a rat; under the chin of each ſide is faſtened a bag, into which the creature injects what food it gets abroad, and preſerves it for a time of neceſſity. The fleſh of them is a valuable diſh among the natives, and their ſkins afford robes for the king, and all the great men. The earth of the country ſeemed to promiſe very rich veins of gold and ſilver, there being hardly any digging without throwing up ſome of the ores of them. The admiral called it Nova Albion, partly in honour to his own country, and partly from the proſpect of white Cliffs and Banks, which it yields to them that view it from the ſea. At his departure hence, he ſet up a monument with a large plate, upon which were engraven her majeſty's name, picture, arms, title to the country, the time of their arrival there, and the admiral's own name. In this country the Spaniards had never ſet footing, nor did they ever diſcover the land by many degrees to the Southward of this place.

Sailing from hence, they loſt ſight of land till October 13, upon which day in the morning they fell in with certain iſlands in 8° of north latitude; from whence they met a great number of canoes coming laden with cocoas, and other fruit: theſe canoes were hollowed within with a great deal of art, and looked ſmooth and ſhining without like burniſhed

niſhed horn; the prow and ſtern both yielded inwards, circlewiſe; on each ſide of them lay two pieces of timber, about a yard and an half long, more or leſs, as the veſſel was bigger or leſs; they were of a conſiderable height, and, for ſhew, ſet off in the inſide with white ſhells: the people that were in them, had the lower part of their ears cut round, and ſtretched down a conſiderable way upon their cheeks, by the weight of thoſe things they hang in them. They ſeemed to deſign their nails for weapons, letting them grow a full inch in length. Their teeth are as black as pitch; and they have a way to preſerve them, by eating of an herb, with a ſort of powder, which they ever carry about with them for that purpoſe. October 18, they came to ſeveral other iſlands; ſome of which appeared to be very populous, and continued their courſe by the iſlands of Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra; the firſt of which had good ſtore of cinnamon, and the inhabitants of all of them were friends to the Portugueſe. The admiral, without making any delay, ſteered the ſame courſe ſtill. November the 14th, they fell in with the Moluccas, and, intending for Tiridore, as they coaſted along the iſland Mutyr, which belongs to the king of Ternate, they met his viceroy, who, ſeeing the admiral's ſhip, without fear came aboard him. He adviſed the admiral by no means to proſecute his voyage to Tiridore, but to ſail directly for Ternate, becauſe his maſter was a very great enemy to the Portugueſe, and would have nothing to do with them, if they were at all concerned with Tiridore, or that nation, who were ſettled there. The admiral, upon this, reſolved upon Ternate; and early next morning came to an anchor before the town: he ſent a meſſenger to the king with a velvet cloak, as a preſent, and to aſſure him, that he came thither with no deſign, but purely that of trading in his country. The viceroy alſo by this time had been with the king, and diſpoſed him to entertain a very favourable opinion of the Eng-

liſh; which wrought ſo far, that the king returned a very civil and obliging anſwer to the admiral's meſſage, aſſuring him, that a friendly correſpondence with the Engliſh nation was highly pleaſing to him; that his whole kingdom ſhould lie open to them, and whatever it yielded ſhould be at their ſervice; and, moreover that he was ready to lay himſelf, and his kingdom, at the foot of ſo glorious a princeſs, as was the queen, whom they ſerved, and to make her his ſovereign, as well as theirs: and, in token of this, he ſent the admiral a ſignet, carrying it, beſides, with a very great reſpect to the Engliſh meſſenger, who went to court, and had been received there with much pomp and ceremony. The king, having a mind to make the admiral a viſit on ſhip-board, ſent beforehand four large canoes, filled with the moſt dignified perſons about him; they were all dreſſed in white lawn, and had an exceeding large umbrella of very fine perfumed mats, borne up with a frame made of reeds, ſpreading over their heads, from one end of the canoe to another; their ſervants, clad in white, ſtood about them; and, without theſe, were ranks of ſoldiers placed: in order, on both ſides their martial men, were placed the rowers, in certain well-contrived galleries, which lay three of a ſide all along the canoes, and were decently raiſed one above the other, each gallery containing eighty rowers. Theſe canoes were furniſhed too with all warlike proviſions, and the ſoldiers well accoutred, having all manner of weapons, both offenſive and defenſive. Rowing near the ſhip, they all paid their reverences to the admiral, in great order, one after another; and told him, that the king had ſent them to conduct him into a ſafer road than that he was in at preſent. Soon after came the king himſelf, attended by ſix grave antient perſons: he ſeemed to be much pleaſed with the Engliſh muſic, and much more with the Engliſh generoſity, which the admiral expreſſed to the full in very large preſents made to him, and his nobles.

The

The king promiſed the next day to come aboard again; and that ſame night ſent them in ſtore of proviſions, as rice, hens, ſugar, cloves, a ſort of fruit they call frigo and ſago, which is a meal they make out of the tops of trees, melting in the mouth like ſugar, but taſting like a ſour curd; but yet, when made up into cakes, will keep ſo as to be very fit for eating at ten years end. The king came not aboard according to his promiſe, but ſent his brother to excuſe him, and withal to invite the admiral aſhore, and to be a pledge for his ſafe return: The admiral declined going himſelf, but ſent ſome gentlemen of his retinue, in company of the king's brother, and kept the viceroy till their return. They were received aſhore by another brother of the king's, and ſeveral of the nobles, and conducted in great ſtate to the caſtle, where there was a court of at leaſt one thouſand perſons, the principal of which was the council, to the number of ſixty, very grave perſons, and four Turkiſh envoys, in ſcarlet robes and turbans, who were there to negotiate in matters of trade between Conſtantinople and Ternate: the king came in, guarded by twelve lances, a glorious canopy, embroidered with gold, being carried over his head. He had a looſe robe of cloth of gold hung about him, his legs bare, but ſhoes of cordovan upon his feet; he had circlets of gold wreathed up and down in his hair, and a large chain of the ſame metal about his neck, and very fair jewels upon his fingers. A page ſtood at the right hand of his chair of ſtate, blowing the cool air upon him with a fan two foot in length, and one broad, curiouſly embroidered and adorned with ſaphires, faſtened to a ſtaff three foot long, by which the page moved it. He kindly received the Engliſh gentlemen, and, having heard their meſſage, ſent one of his council to conduct them back to their ſhips. He is a potent prince, and has ſeventy iſlands under him, beſides Ternate, which is itſelf the beſt

of all the Moluccas. His religion, and that of his country, is Mahometaniſm.

After this, the admiral, having diſpatched all his affairs here, weighed anchor, and put off from Ternate, ſailing to a little iſland ſouthward of the Celebes, where they ſtaid twenty-ſix days. This iſland is extremely woody; the trees are of a large, high growth, ſtrait, and without boughs, except at top, and the leaves ſomething like our Engliſh broom. Here they obſerved a ſort of ſhining flies, in great multitudes, no bigger than the common fly in England, which ſkimming up and down in the air, between the trees and buſhes, made them appear as if they were burning. Here are bats alſo as big as hens, and a ſort of land cray-fiſh, which dig holes in the earth like conies, and are ſo large, that one of them will plentifully dine four perſons. Setting ſail from hence, they deſigned to have run for the Moluccas; but, having a bad wind, and being amongſt a parcel of iſlands, with much difficulty they recovered the mouth of Celebes; where, being not able, for contrary winds, to continue a weſtern courſe, they altered to the ſouthward again; which they found very hazardous, by reaſon of the ſhoals that lie thick among the iſlands. This they proved by a dangerous, and almoſt fatal experiment, on Jan. 9, 1579, when they ran upon a rock, in which they ſtuck faſt from eight at night to four in the afternoon of the next day. In this diſtreſs, they lightened their ſhip upon the rock of three ton of cloves, eight pieces of ordnance, and ſome proviſions; very quickly after which, the wind chopping about from the ſtarboard to the larboard of the ſhip, they hoiſted ſail; and the happy gale, at that moment, intirely diſengaged them from the incumbrances of the rock. February 18, they fell in with the fruitful iſland Baratene, having, in the mean time, ſuffered much by winds and ſhoals. The people

people of it are of a comely proportion in their bodies, but of a far more beautiful diſpoſition of mind, being very civil and courteous to ſtrangers, and punctually juſt in all their dealings. The men cover only their heads and their loins; but the women, from the waiſt down to the foot: Beſides which, they load their arms with large heavy bracelets of bone, braſs and horn. Linen cloth is a very good commodity here; theſe people being fond of it, to make girdles and rolls for their heads. The iſland affords gold, ſilver, copper, ſulphur, nutmeg, ginger, long-pepper, lemons, cucumbers, cocoas, frigo, ſago, &c. particularly a ſort of fruit, in bigneſs, form, and huſk, reſembling a bayberry, hard, but pleaſantly taſted, and, when boiled, is ſoft and of good eaſy digeſtion: in ſhort, except Ternate, they met with no place that yielded greater plenty of all comforts for human life than this iſland did.

Leaving Baratene, they ſailed for Java major, where they met with a courteous and honourable entertainment likewiſe: The iſland is governed by five kings, who live in perfect good underſtanding with each other. They had once four of their majeſties on ſhip-board at a time; and the company of two or three of them very often. The Javans are a ſtout and warlike people, go well armed, with ſwords, targets, and daggers, all of their own manufacture, very curious, both as to the faſhion and temper of the metal. They wear Turkiſh turbans on their heads; the upper part of their body is naked; but, from the waiſt downwards, they have a pintado of ſilk, trailing on the ground, of that colour which pleaſes them beſt. They manage their women quite after another rate than the Moluccans do; for theſe latter will hardly let a ſtranger ſee them, whereas the former are ſo far from that nicety, that they will very civilly offer a traveller a bedfellow. And, as they are thus civil and hoſpitable to

ſtrangers, ſo they are pleaſant and ſociable among themſelves; for in every village they have a public houſe, where they will meet, and bring their ſeveral ſhares of proviſions, joining all their forces together in one great feaſt, for the keeping up good fellowſhip amongſt the King's ſubjects. They have a way peculiar to themſelves of boiling rice; they put it into an earthen pot, which is of a conical figure, open at the greater end, and perforated all over. In the mean time, they provided another large earthen pot full of boiling water, into which they put this perforated veſſel, with the rice, which ſwelling, and filling the holes of the pot, but a ſmall quantity of water can enter. By this ſort of boiling, the rice is brought to a very firm conſiſtency, and, at laſt, is caked into a ſort of bread; of which, with butter, oil, ſugar, and ſpices, they make ſeveral very pleaſant kinds of food. The French diſeaſe prevails among them in this iſland; but, inſtead of fetching out the poiſon by a ſalivation, they do it by a ſort of perſpiration through all the pores of the body, and that by ſitting naked in the ſun for ſome hours, whoſe ſcorching rays open thoſe paſſages, and give free vent to the noxious particles to diſcharge themſelves. The admiral here had news of ſome great ſhips that lay not far off; ſo, not knowing what they might prove, he would ſtay no longer. From hence they ſailed for the Cape of Good Hope, which was the firſt land they fell in withal, neither did they touch at any other till they came to Sierra Leona, upon the coaſt of Guinea. They paſſed the cape June 18, and, by the pleaſure of the voyage that way, found how much the Portugueſe had abuſed the world in the falſe repreſentations of the horrors and dangers of it. July 22, they arrived at Sierra Leona, where they found great ſtore of elephants.

After two days ſtay, which they ſpent in wooding, watering, and taking in refreſhments, they ſailed from thence. July 25, they found themſelves under

der the tropic of Cancer, being then 50 leagues off the neareſt land. On the 22d of the ſame month, they were in the height of the Canaries; but, being ſufficiently ſtocked with all neceſſaries, they made no ſtay there, but continued their voyage to Plymouth, where they arrived on Monday September 26, 1580, but, according to their account, it was Sunday. In this circum-navigation of the globe he ſpent two years, ten months, and a few days. The report of his return was very ſoon ſpread through the kingdom; and as that was an age when virtue might be ſaid to be in faſhion, it made a great noiſe, eſpecially among ſuch as affected to diſtinguiſh themſelves either as the patrons of arms, or arts, all of them ſtriving to expreſs their ſenſe of his worth, by the praiſes, and other teſtimonies of regard, which they paid to captain Drake.

It was not, however, reaſonable to expect, that ſo bold and brave an action, attended likewiſe by ſuch vaſt applauſe, ſhould paſs altogether uncenſured; and therefore we need not be ſurpriſed, that there were many who endeavoured to give a wrong colour to this gallant action. They gave out, that his ſurrounding the globe ſerved only to amuſe common minds, and that the main buſineſs of his voyage was plunder, of which, they ſaid, he had acquired enough to exempt the nation from taxes for ſeven years; that as there was no war proclaimed againſt Spain, it was a dangerous thing to own ſuch an adventurer, ſince the public might come to pay dear for the prizes he had taken: that our merchants had great effects in Spain, and therefore reaſon to doubt, that a handle might be taken to ſeize our merchants goods to make good his depredations. Theſe objections really weighed much with ſome people, and others thought fit to countenance them, though they did not believe them. The Spaniſh embaſſador alſo attacked him by very warm memorials, his party ſtiling him the Maſter Thief of the unknown world. The friends

friends and patrons of captain Drake, however, who found themſelves wounded through his ſides, took abundance of pains to vindicate his conduct; alledging, on his behalf, that he had the queen's commiſſion to juſtify his making repriſals; that the more wealth he had brought home, the more the nation was obliged to him; that the Spaniards had already done us very great injuries, and therefore they had more reaſon to fear us, than we them; that, in fine, if the king of Spain had a mind to ſeize our merchants effects, the public would do well to receive this Indian treaſure by way of equivalent; and that, if they did not, it would break the ſpirit of that ſort of men, who were otherwiſe moſt like to break the ſpirits of the Spaniards. Such were the reaſonings on both ſides, while the thing remained in ſuſpenſe, as if queen Elizabeth intended to hear every body's ſentiments, before ſhe decided the merits of ſo great a cauſe.

Things remained for a conſiderable time in this ſituation, during which captain Drake, no doubt, was extremely uneaſy, as not knowing, whether, after all his toils abroad, he might not be declared a pirate at home. There is however reaſon to believe, that the queen delayed to diſcloſe her ſentiments from motives of true policy, as inclining to ſee what effects this conduct of hers might have had upon the court of Spain, which was certainly withheld from meddling ſo far as was otherwiſe intended in her affairs, by the hopes of drawing ſo great a treaſure out of our hands; and, to keep them in this hope, ſhe very artfully conſented to part with ſome ſmall ſums to Mendoza the Spaniſh agent. At laſt, when things were come to a criſis, the queen threw off the veil at once; and notice being given to captain Drake of her intention, ſhe, on the 4th of April 1581, went on board his ſhip at Deptford, where ſhe was magnificently entertained; and, after dinner, was graciouſly pleaſed to confer the honour of knighthood

hood on captain Drake; telling him, at the ſame time, that his actions did him more honour than his title. There was a prodigious croud attended her majeſty upon this occaſion, ſo that they broke down the bridge laid from the ſhore to the ſhip, by that time ſhe was got on board it; yet of 200 perſons, who by this accident fell into the Thames, not one was either drowned or hurt, which her majeſty was pleaſed to attribute to the fortune of Sir Francis Drake. After this public approbation of the ſovereign, all ranks of people redoubled their congratulations; and Sir Francis Drake himſelf is ſaid thenceforward to have given for his device the terraqueous globe, with this motto, *Tu primus circumdediſti me*, i. e. *Thou firſt encompaſſed me*; but not excluding his former motto, *Divino auxilio*, i. e. *By the help of God.*

This ſhip was preſerved many years at Deptford, as a very great curioſity; and when it was almoſt entirely decayed, a chair was made out of it, and ſent as a preſent to the univerſity of Oxford, where it is ſtill to be ſeen.

THE

THE VOYAGE round the WORLD, PERFORMED BY Captain WILLIAM DAMPIER.

CAptain William Dampier was deſcended from a very reputable family in Somerſetſhire, where he was born in the year 1652; and, during the life-time of his father and mother, had ſuch an education, as was thought requiſite to fit him for a trade. But, loſing both his parents while he was very young, thoſe, who had the care of him afterwards, finding him of a roving diſpoſition, and ſtrongly inclined to go to ſea, reſolved to comply with his humour in this reſpect; and, about the year 1669, bound him to a maſter of a ſhip who lived at Weymouth in Dorſetſhire, with whom he made a voyage to France the ſame year, and, in the next, went to Newfoundland. He was ſo pinched by the ſeverity of that climate, that, on his return, he went home to his friends in the country, having loſt much of that eagerneſs, with which he had been poſſeſſed for going to ſea. This, however, ſoon returned, on his hearing of an outward-bound Eaſt India ſhip, which was ſpeedily to ſail from the port of London; and thereupon, in the latter end of the year 1670, he came up to town, and entered himſelf before the maſt on board the John and Martha of London, captain Earning commander, with whom he made a voyage to Bantam in the iſland of Java, and back; by which he acquired a great deal of experience. He returned

turned into England in January 1672, and retired to his brother's houſe in Somerſetſhire, where he ſtaid all the next ſummer. In 1673, he entered himſelf on board the Royal Prince, commanded by the famous Sir Edward Spragge, and was in two engagements againſt the Dutch that ſummer; but, falling ſick, was put on board an hoſpital-ſhip a day or two before the laſt engagement, in which that brave Engliſh ſeaman was killed, and which Mr. Dampier ſaw only at a diſtance. After this, he went down again to his brother's in Somerſetſhire, where, meeting with one colonel Hellier, who had a large eſtate in Jamaica, he was perſuaded by him to go over to that iſland, where he was to be employed in the management of it. With this view, he ſailed from the river Thames in the ſpring of the year 1674, and reſided ſomewhat more than a year at Jamaica; where, not liking the life of a planter, he, at the perſuaſion of one captain Hodſell, engaged himſelf among the logwood-cutters, and embarqued in Auguſt 1675 for Campeachy, where he reſided for ſome time, and followed that employment diligently, tho' he underwent many and great hardſhips, before he had an opportunity of returning to Jamaica, which he did in the end of the year. In the February following, he embarqued again for Campeachy, being now better provided for the trade of logwood-cutter than before. He continued here a good while, and acquainted himſelf perfectly with the manner of cutting logwood, and trading in it; which enabled him to form ſome projects for advancing his fortune: This, however, made it neceſſary for him to return firſt to Jamaica, and then to England, where he arrived on board a ſhip commanded by one captain Loader, in the month of Auguſt 1678. It was this new ſcene of life in the bay of Campeachy, that introduced him to the acquaintance of ſome Buccaneers, and gave him a notion of that ſort of life, in which he afterward engaged, and of which, it

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is certain, he was afterwards very much aſhamed. This was probably the reaſon, that he has concealed many circumſtances, with which, however, the world has been made acquainted by others, who had not, perhaps, the ſame reaſons for keeping them ſecret. But to proceed with the hiſtory of our author's adventures.

In the ſpring of the year 1679, he embarked on board the Loyal Merchant, of London, commanded by captain Knapman, bound for Jamaica, where he arrived in the latter end of April, the ſame year, with an intent to have provided himſelf in ſuch manner, as might have ſet him up for a complete log-wood-cutter, and trader in the bay of Campeachy. But he afterward changed his reſolution, and laid out the beſt part of what he was worth in the purchaſe of a ſmall eſtate in Dorſetſhire, of a perſon he knew to have a good title; and then made an agreement with one Mr. Hobby, to take a trip to the Continent before he went for England. Soon after their ſetting out, they came to an anchor in Nigral bay, at the weſt end of Jamaica: They found there the captains Coxon, Sawkins, Sharpe, and other privateers, with whom all Mr. Hobby's men preſently agreed to go, and left nobody with him but our author; who, believing that his aſſiſtance could not do him much good, conſented to go along with them too. At the cloſe of the year 1679, they ſet out: their firſt expedition was againſt Porto-Bello, which being accompliſhed, they took a reſolution to croſs the iſthmus of Darien, in order to purſue their deſigns in the South Seas. On April 5, 1680, they landed near Golden Iſland, being between 3 and 400 ſtrong, carrying with them ſuch proviſions as were neceſſary, and toys to gratify the free Indians, through whoſe country they paſſed. In about nine days time they arrived at Santa Maria, which they took without much difficulty, but found there neither gold nor proviſions, as they expected; ſo they ſtaid there

only three days, and then embarked on board canoes, and other ſmall craft, for the South Seas. On April 23, they were in ſight of Panama; and, having in vain attempted Puebla Nova, before which captain Sawkins, then acting as commander in chief, was killed, they went off to the iſles of Quibo. On June 6, they ſailed from thence for the coaſt of Peru; and, touching at the iſlands of Gorgonia and Plata, they came to Ylo, which they took in the month of October. About Chriſtmas, the ſame year, they arrived in the iſland of Juan Fernandez, which was the fartheſt they went towards the South: there they depoſed captain Bartholomew Sharpe, who had the chief command after the death of Sawkins, and made choice of one captain Watling to command, under whom they attempted Arica. Here they were repulſed with the loſs of twenty-eight men, among whom was their new commander captain Watling; when they ſailed for ſome time without any commander; but, arriving in the iſland of Plata, their crew ſplit into two factions; when it was reſolved, before they proceeded to the choice of a commander, that the majority, with their new captain, ſhould keep the ſhip, and the minority ſhould content themſelves with the canoes and ſmall-craft. Upon the poll, captain Sharpe was reſtored, and Mr. Dampier, who had voted againſt him, prepared, with his aſſociates, to return over land into the North Seas.

On April 17, 1681, they quitted captain Sharpe, and, without acknowleging any commander, reſolved to proſecute their deſign of repaſſing the iſthmus, though they were but forty-ſeven men in all. This was one of the boldeſt undertakings that ever came into the head of deſperate men, and yet they performed it without any conſiderable loſs. On May 1, they landed on the Continent; paſt the iſthmus in twenty-three days; and, on the 24th, embarked on board captain Triſtrian, a French privateer, with whom they joined a fleet of thoſe ſort of people, con-

conſiſting of nine veſſels, on board of which were near 600 men. This was a very great force, and they flattered themſelves with the hopes of doing great things againſt the Spaniards: but through variety of accidents, though chiefly through the diſagreement among their commanders, they were able to do very little, except that theſe people, who came over land, made themſelves maſters of a tartan; and, putting themſelves under the command of captain Wright, continued cruizing along the Spaniſh coaſt, quite down to the Dutch ſettlement of Curacoa. Here they endeavoured to ſell a good quantity of ſugar, which they had taken on board a Spaniſh ſhip; but, failing in that deſign, they proſecuted their voyage to Tortugas, and from thence to the Caracca coaſt, where they took three barks, one laden with hides, another with European commodities, and the third with earthen-ware and brandy. With theſe prizes they proceeded to the iſland of Roca, where they ſhared them, and then reſolved to ſeparate, though they were but ſixty in all: of theſe, about twenty, among whom our author was, took one of the barks, and, with their ſhare of the goods, proceeded directly for Virginia, where they arrived in the month of July 1682. There they continued for ſome time, and then the beſt part of them made a voyage to Carolina, from whence they once more came back to Virginia; and, having ſpent the beſt part of their wealth, were now ready to enter on any ſcheme that could be propoſed for getting more; nor was it long before ſuch an opportunity offered. Captain Cooke coming thither with a prize, and declaring his reſolution to go into the South Seas, and cruiſe upon the Spaniards; Mr. Dampier, whoſe old acquaintance he was, and who knew him to be an able commander, readily agreed to go with him, and brought moſt of his companions into a like diſpoſition; which was of greater conſequence to that commander, as it furniſhed him with one-third of his whole company. In

this voyage it was that captain Cowley acted as maſter, though he was not truſted with the true deſign. They ſailed from Achamack in Virginia, Auguſt 23, 1683, and ſteered their courſe for the Cape de Verd iſlands. In their paſſage they met with a violent ſtorm, which laſted a whole week. We have now ſeen our author embarked; the remainder of his voyage ſhall be given in his own manner.

The Iſle of Salt, ſays captain Dampier, is ſituated in 16° latitude, and in 19° 33′ longitude weſt from the Lizard in England. It is in length from north to ſouth nine leagues, and in breadth about two leagues; has abundance of ſalt ponds, (whence it derives its name) but no trees or graſs that ever I ſaw. Some few poor goats feed upon ſhrubs near the ſeaſide. I have alſo ſeen ſome wild fowl here, and eſpecially the Flamingos, a reddiſh fowl, of the ſhape of a heron, but much larger, living in ponds, or muddy places: we ſhot about fourteen of them, though they are very ſhy: their neſts they build with mud, in the ſhallow places in ponds or ſtanding waters; theſe they raiſe up like hillocks, tapering to the top, two feet above the ſurface of the water, where they leave a hole to lay their eggs in, which when they do, or are hatching them, they ſtand with their long legs in the water cloſe to the hillocks, and ſo cover the hollowneſs only with their rumps; for, if they ſhould ſit down on them, the weight of their bodies would break them. The young ones cannot fly, nor do they come to their true colour or ſhape, till they are ten or eleven months old, but run very faſt: their fleſh is lean and black, but not ill taſted: They have large tongues, and, near the root of them, a piece of fat, which is accounted a great dainty. I ſaw, at another time, great ſtore of theſe birds at the iſle of Rio la Hacha, near the continent of America, oppoſite to Curacao, but never could ſo fully obſerve their neſts, or young ones, as here. We found not above five or ſix men in the iſland of ſalt; the chief

brought us three or four poor goats; in return for which, and ſome ſalt we bought of him, we gave him ſome old cloaths.

We ſailed from the iſle of Salt to St. Nicholas, another of the Cape Verd iſles, twenty-two leagues weſt ſouth-weſt. From thence we came to an anchor on the ſouth-eaſt ſide. It is of a triangular form, the longeſt ſide to the eaſt being thirty leagues in length, and the other two twenty each: near the ſhore it is rocky and barren; but has ſome valleys farther in the country, which produce vines and graſs. The chief of the iſle, with two or three gentlemen, brought ſome of the wine aboard us, which was of a pale colour, and taſted like Madeira wine, but was a little thick: they told us, that the principal village was in a valley, fourteen miles from the bay, where we then were, and contained about 100 families; they were of a dark ſwarthy complexion. After having ſpent five or ſix days here in digging of wells for freſh water, we ſailed to Mayo, another of the Cape de Verd iſlands, forty miles eaſt by ſouth from the laſt, where we came to an anchor to the north-weſt ſide of it. We would have provided ourſelves with ſome beef and goats here, but they would not let our men come aſhore; becauſe one captain Bond, a Briſtol man, had, not long before, carried off ſome of the chief inhabitants under the ſame pretence. This iſle is but ſmall, and the coaſt full of ſhoals; yet has a conſiderable commerce in ſalt and cattle *.

From the Cape Verd iſles we ſteered our courſe to the ſouth with an eaſt north-eaſt wind directly to the ſtreights of Magellan; but at 10° north latitude, the wind blowing hard at ſouth by weſt, and ſouth ſouth-weſt, we directed our courſe to the Guinea coaſt, and came in a few days to an anchor at the mouth of Sherborough river, where there is an Engliſh factory

* See a particular deſcription of the Cape Verd iſlands, in captain Roberts's Voyage, to be found in vol. 2.

ſouth of Sierra Leona, which drives a conſiderable trade with camwood, yielding a red colour, uſed by the dyers. Not far from the ſhore we ſaw a pretty large village, inhabited by negroes; the houſes were low, except one in the middle, where they entertained us with palm-wine, and brought aboard good ſtore of rice, fowls, honey, and ſugar-canes. About the middle of November we proſecuted our voyage to the ſtreights of Magellan; but, as ſoon as we got out to ſea, we met with tornadoes, three or four in a day, which, together with calms, made us advance but ſlowly, the wind veering at intervals to the ſouth and by eaſt, and ſouth ſouth-eaſt, till we were paſt the equinoctial line, about a degree to the eaſt of the Iſle of St. Iago. After we were come 1° to the ſouth of the line, the wind turned to the eaſt, which made us ſteer ſouth-weſt by weſt; and, the farther we got to the ſouth, the wind increaſed upon us from the eaſt. At 3° ſouth latitude, we had the wind at ſouth-eaſt; and at 5° at ſouth-eaſt, where it held a conſiderable time, and carried us the 18th of January, 1684, to 36° of ſouth latitude, without any remarkable accident. The ſea hereabouts being of a paliſh colour, we thought to have found ground with our line, but found none at 100 fathom. At noon I computed to be 48° 50′ weſt from the Lizard, the variation 15° 50′. January 28, we made three iſles of Sebald de Weert, in 51° 25′ ſouth latitude, and 57° 28′ longitude, weſt from the Lizard of England, the variation 33° 10′. We came to an anchor within two cables length of the ſhore of the furthermoſt of thoſe three iſlands, where we found foul rocky ground, and the iſland barren, and deſtitute of trees, but ſome dildo-buſhes growing near the ſea-ſide. We ſaw the ſame day vaſt ſhoals of ſmall red lobſters, no bigger than one's finger; but were perfectly like our lobſters, except in their colour.

As we found neither ſafe anchoring nor freſh water at thoſe iſles, we made the beſt of our way to-

ward the ſtreights of Magellan. February 1, we came in ſight of the ſtreight le Maire, which we found very narrow, with high land on both ſides. The wind at north north-weſt, we ſailed with a briſk gale till within four miles of the mouth, where, being becalmed, we found a very ſtrong tide ſetting out of the ſtreights to the north; but whether it flowed or ebbed we were not able to diſtinguiſh; becauſe it ran all ways, breaking on all ſides, and toſſing our ſhip at ſuch a rate, as I never ſaw before or ſince. At eight o'clock at night we ſailed with a weſt north-weſt wind to the eaſt, in order to ſail round the States Iſle; at the eaſt end of which, anchoring the 7th at noon, we found ourſelves at 45° 52′ ſouth latitude. At this end are three ſmall rocky iſlands, white with the dung of birds. We ſteered to the ſouth, in order to ſail round to the ſouth of Cape Horn, the ſouthermoſt point of Terra del Fuego; but the winds running betwixt the north-weſt and weſt, we did not ſee the Terra del Fuego. After the firſt evening, we made the ſtreight of le Maire: as I did not ſee the ſun, at ſetting or riſing, from the time we left the iſles of Sebald de Weert, till we came into the South Seas, ſo I am not able to tell you the variation: I made, indeed, an obſervation at noon in 59° 30′ longitude, the wind at weſt by north; and at night the wind veered about to the ſouth-weſt at 60°, the furtheſt ſouth latitude I ever was in. February 14, we were ſurpriſed by a moſt violent ſtorm in 57° latitude to the weſt of Cape Horn, which continued till the 3d of March, from the ſouth-weſt, and ſouth-weſt and by weſt, and weſt ſouth-weſt. March 3, it blew a freſh gale from the ſouth, and afterwards from the eaſt, which brought us into the South Sea. The 9th, we found ourſelves at 47° 10′, and the variation 15° 30′ eaſt. The 17th, we had a fair gale from the ſouth-eaſt at 36° latitude, the variation 8° eaſt. The 19th, early in the morning, we diſcerned a ſail to the ſouth of us, which we ſuppoſed to be a Spaniſh merchantman bound

bound from Baldivia to Lima; but proved one captain Eaton, from London, who being bound to the South Seas as well as we, we kept company with him quite through the ſtreights.

March 24, we got in ſight of the iſle of Juan Fernandez, and ſoon after came to an anchor, in a bay at the ſouth end, in 25 fathom water, within two cables length of the ſhore *. We ſent immediately to look after a Muſkito man we had been forced to leave there three years before; and who, notwithſtanding all the ſearch made by the Spaniards after him, had kept himſelf concealed in the woods. When he was left there by captain Watling (after captain Sharpe was turned out) he had with him a gun, a knife, and ſome powder and ſhot, which being all ſpent, he ſawed his gun-barrel into ſmall pieces, and theſe he made up into harpoons, hooks, and ſuch-like inſtruments; all which, though it may ſeem ſtrange, yet is commonly practiſed among the Muſkito Indians, who make all their inſtruments without either forge or anvil. And the other Indians, who have not the uſe of iron from the Europeans, make their hatchets, wherewith they cut their timber and wood, of a very hard ſtone. In the hollowing out of their canoes, they make uſe of fire beſide. The ſtone hatchets of the Indians, near Blewfield River, are ten inches long, fourteen broad, and two inches thick in the middle, ground away flat and ſharp at both ends; the handle is in the midſt, being a deep notch, of a finger's length, which they bind round with a withe of about four feet long. Thus the Indians of Patagonia head their arrows very artificially with ground flints: with theſe before-mentioned inſtruments our Muſkito man uſed to ſtrike goats and fiſh for his ſubſiſtence; his hut being half a mile from the ſea-ſide, made of

* This iſland is accurately deſcribed in Anſon's voyage; following.

goat ſkins; as was his bed, the ſame ſerving likewiſe for his cloathing; thoſe he had, when he was left, being quite worn out. We had no ſooner landed, than another Muſkito, aboard our ſhip, ran to meet his countryman, and, after he had thrown himſelf on his face upon the ground, embraced him with all the marks of tenderneſs; which ceremony being over, he came to ſalute us his old friends. His name was Will, and the other's Robert: For, though they have no names among themſelves, they love to have names given them by the Engliſh. This iſland has only two bays fit for anchorage, with a rivulet of freſh water in each: both theſe are at the eaſt end, and ſo conveniently ſituated, that they might be ſtrengthened and defended by a ſlender force againſt a powerful army, there being no acceſs to them from the Weſt over the high mountains. Here it was that five Engliſhmen, left here by captain Davis, ſecured themſelves againſt a great number of Spaniards.

After ſtaying fourteen days at the iſland of Juan Fernandez, we ſet ſail again April 8, 1684, in company with captain Eaton, for the Pacific Sea, properly ſo called, being that part of the Mare del Zur which extends from ſouth to north, betwixt 30° and 40° ſouth latitude; and, from the American ſhore to the weſt, without limitation, as far as I know. I have ſailed in this ſea 250 leagues without any dark or rainy clouds, tempeſts, tornadoes, hurricanes, or any other winds, except the trade-winds: notwithſtanding which, the ſea runs high at the new and full moon, and makes landing very unſafe. I have, however, frequently taken notice of hazy and foggy weather in the morning, ſo as to hinder the obſervation of the ſun. We continued our courſe towards the line to the 24° ſouth latitude, in ſight of the continent of America. This vaſt track of land belonging to Chili and Peru being very mountainous, we ſailed no nearer than twelve or ſixteen leagues to it,

it, for fear of being diſcovered by the Spaniards; and the land, from 24° to 10° ſouth latitude, ſtill exceeds the former in height, being incloſed by three or four ridges of mountains within one another, the furthermoſt within the country ſurpaſſing the reſt in height; they exceed, in my opinion, in height, the peak of Teneriff, and of St. Martha, or any other in the world that ever I ſaw. Sir John Narborough, in his voyage to Baldivia, mentions very high lands near that city, lying upon the coaſt; and I have been informed from divers Spaniards, that from Coquimbo, at 30° ſouth latitude, to Baldivia, at 40° ſouth, the ſhore is alſo very high; which makes me conclude, that theſe ridges extend all along the South Sea coaſt from one end of Peru and Chili to the other, they are called the Andes. This I believe to be the reaſon why but few, and theſe very ſmall rivers, exonerate themſelves into the ſea, ſcarce any of them being navigable, and ſome drying up at certain ſeaſons of the year. Thus the river of Uli runs with a briſk current from January to June, and then decreaſes till September, when it quite dries up till January again, as I can ſay on my own experience, and as I have heard the Spaniards affirm the ſame of other rivers on this coaſt. So I look upon them rather as torrents, occaſioned by rain at certain ſeaſons, than rivulets.

We continued our courſe at ſome diſtance along the coaſt till May the 3d, at 9° 40′ ſouth latitude, when we deſcrying a veſſel, captain Eaton took her, being laden with timber. Afterwards we ſteered our courſe to the iſle of Lobos, at 6° 24′ ſouth latitude, five leagues from the continent. This iſle is called Lobos de la Mare, to diſtinguiſh it from another nearer the Continent, and, therefore, called Lobos de la Terra; Lobos ſignifying as much as a ſeal in Spaniſh, of which there is great plenty hereabouts. May 10, we anchored near Lobos de la Mare with our prize. This is properly a double iſland, each of

a mile in circuit, ſeparated by a ſmall channel, not capable of receiving any ſhips of burden: A little way from the ſhore, on the north ſide, ſeveral rocks lie ſcattered in the ſea: at the weſt end of the eaſtermoſt iſle, is a ſmall ſandy creek, where ſhips may be ſecure from the winds; all the reſt of the ſhore being rocky cliffs. The land is alſo rocky and ſandy, without any freſh water, trees or ſhrubs, or any land animal, except fowls, as boobies, but above all, penguins, a ſort of ſea-fowl of the bigneſs of a duck, and having juſt ſuch feet, but the bill is pointed: their wings are no more than ſtumps, which ſerve them inſtead of fins in the water; and they are covered rather with down, than with feathers: As they feed on fiſh, ſo their fleſh is but of an indifferent taſte, but the eggs are very good. The penguins are to be ſeen all over the South Sea, on the coaſt of Newfoundland, and on the Cape of Good Hope.

Upon examination of the priſoners, being convinced that we were diſcovered by the Spaniards, and, conſequently, that they would keep all their richeſt ſhips in port, it was conſidered, whether we ſhould attack ſome place thereabouts; and Truxilo, though a populous city, and of a difficult acceſs in landing, at the port of Guanehagno, ſix miles hence, being thought the moſt likely place, we prepared for the ſaid expedition; and, May 17, found our whole number to conſiſt of 108 ſound men; but, the next day, ſome of our men deſcrying three veſſels to the weſt, without the iſles, and one betwixt the iſle and the Continent, we gave them chace; we in captain Cooke's ſhip that towards the Continent, and captain Eaton the other two. They were ſoon taken, and proved to be laden with flour from Guanehagno to Panama: in one of them we found a letter from the viceroy of Lima, to the preſident of Panama, intimating, that, having notice of ſome enemies lately come into thoſe ſeas, he had immediately ſent away

theſe three ſhips to ſupply their wants; at the ſame time, being informed by the priſoners, that thoſe of Truxillo were erecting a fort near their harbour of Guanehagno, we reſolved to give over our deſign of attacking that place, and ſteered with our three prizes to the iſles of Gallipagos, ſo called by the Spaniards from their ſuppoſed diſappearing. May 31, we came to an anchor at the eaſt ſide of one of the eaſtermoſt iſles, a mile from the ſhore, in ſixteen fathom water, clear, white, hard ſand *.

There is no place in the world ſo much ſtored with guanas and land tortoiſes as theſe iſles. The firſt are fat, and of an extraordinary ſize, and exceeding tame; and the land tortoiſes ſo numerous, that ſome hundred men may ſubſiſt on them for a conſiderable time. They are very fat, and as pleaſant food as a pullet; and of ſuch bigneſs, that one of them weighs 150 or 200 pounds; and are from two feet to two feet ſix inches over the belly; whereas, in other places, I never met with any above thirty pounds weight; though I have heard them ſay, that at St. Laurence, or Madagaſcar, there are alſo very large ones. There are three or four ſorts of land tortoiſes in the Weſt Indies. After a ſea tortoiſe gets aſhore to lay, ſhe is an hour before ſhe returns, becauſe ſhe always chuſes her places above high-water mark, where ſhe makes a large hole with her fins in the ſand, to lay her eggs in; which done, ſhe covers them up two feet deep with the ſame ſand ſhe had raked out before: ſometimes they will take a view of the place beforehand, and be ſure to return to the ſame the next day to lay. The tortoiſes are taken in the night, upon the ſhore, when they are turned upon their backs, above the high-water mark, and ſo fetched away the next morning; but a large green tortoiſe will find work enough for two able fellows to turn her upon her back.

* Theſe iſlands are deſcribed by Woodes Rogers.

After

After a ſtay of twelve days among theſe iſles, one of our Indian priſoners, a native of Rio Lega, having given us an ample account of the riches of that place, and offered his ſervice to conduct us thither, it was reſolved to take his advice; and accordingly we ſet ſail the 12th of June, with an intention to touch in our way at the iſle of Cocoas: we took our courſe north 4° 40′ latitude, with a ſouth and by weſt and ſouth ſouth weſt winds; and, as we came weſt to the iſle of Cocoas, the wind ſouth-weſt and by ſouth, thus we continued our courſe to 5° 40′ north latitude, when, deſpairing to make the iſle of Cocoas, as the wind ſtood, we directed our courſe to the continent. The iſle of Cocoas lies in 5° 15′ north latitude, its circuit ſeven or eight leagues, but has no inhabitants. Near the ſea-ſide it produces a certain pleaſant herb in the low grounds, called Geamadael by the Spaniards. As it is environed with ſteep rocks, ſo there is no coming near it, except that on the north-eaſt end ſhips may ride ſafely in a ſmall creek: this is what I learn from the Spaniards, and was confirmed to me by captain Eaton. The fair weather, and ſmall winds, conducted us by the beginning of July to Cape Blanco, on the continent of Mexico, ſo called from two white rocks, half a mile from the cape, in 9° 56′ latitude; they are taper, high, and ſteep, like two high towers; the cape itſelf is about the ſame height as Beachy-head, on the coaſt of Suſſex, in England, being a full point jetting out with ſteep rocks to the ſea, but having an eaſy deſcent on both ſides from the flat on the top, which, being covered with tall trees, affords a pleaſant proſpect. On the north-weſt ſide of the cape, the land runs in north-eaſt for four leagues, making a ſmall bay, called the Caldera Bay; at the entrance whereof, at the north-weſt ſide of the cape, a ſweet-water rivulet diſcharges itſelf into the ſea amongſt the low lands. Theſe are very rich, and abounding in lofty trees, which extend a mile north-eaſt beyond the rivulet, where

where the Savannas begin, and run ſeveral leagues into the country; being here-and-there beautified with ſmall groves of trees, and covered with a ſweet, thick, and long graſs, ſome of the beſt I ever ſaw in the Weſt Indies. Deeper into the bay, the low lands are ſtored with mangroves; but, farther into the country, the land is higher, partly woods, partly hilly ſavannas; the graſs whereof is not ſo good as the former, neither are the trees in the woods ſo tall, but ſmall and ſhort. From the bottom of this bay, you may travel over hilly ſavannas for fourteen or fifteen leagues to the lake of Nicaragua.

On the coaſt of the North Sea, captain Cooke, who had been very ill ever ſince our departure from the iſland Juan Fernandez, died as ſoon as we came within two or three leagues of this cape, a thing frequent at ſea, for people to die in view of the land, after a long illneſs: and as, in a few hours after, we came to anchor a league within the cape, near the mouth of the before-mentioned rivulet, at fourteen fathom clear hard ſand, he was immediately carried on ſhore, under a guard of twelve armed men, in order to his interment. While our men were buſy in digging the grave, three Spaniſh Indians came to them, aſking them ſeveral impertinent queſtions; which our people having anſwered as they thought convenient, they kept them in diſcourſe till they found means to ſeize them all three, though one of them eſcaped their hands again. The other two, being carried aboard, confeſſed that they were ſent thither as ſpies, to inform themſelves concerning us, from Nicoya, a ſmall Mulatto town, twelve or fourteen leagues hence, ſeated upon the banks of a river bearing the ſame name, which being a place very convenient for building and refitting of ſhips, the preſident of Panama had ſent advice of our coming into theſe ſeas to their magiſtrates.

Concerning the inhabitants of the country, they told us, that they lived moſtly by manuring of their grounds

grounds for corn, and feeding their cattle in the Savannas or plains, of which they had great ſtore; and that they ſent their ox-hides to the North Sea, by the lake of Nicaragua; as they did alſo a ſort of red wood, (which I ſuppoſe to be the ſame, called at Jamaica blood wood, or Nicaragua wood) uſed for dying, which they exchanged there for linen and woolen commodities brought thither from Europe. They added, that not far from thence was a large beef-pen, where we might provide ourſelves with what cows or bulls we had occaſion for. As this was a ſcarce commodity amongſt us at that time, twenty-four of us were immediately diſpatched in two boats, who, under the conduct of one of the Indians, landed at a place a league from the ſhip, and haled their boats upon the dry ſand: thus, led by their guide, they came to the pen, in a large ſavanna, two miles from the boats, where, finding abundance of bulls and cows feeding, ſome were for killing three or four of them immediately; but the reſt oppoſed the ſame, alleging, they had better ſtay all night, and in the morning kill as many as they had occaſion for. Hereupon I, and eleven more, thought fit to return aboard, which we did without the leaſt oppoſition, expecting the coming of the reſt the next day; but, hearing nothing of them by four o'clock in the afternoon, ten men were ſent in a canoe to look after them. They were no ſooner come into the bay where they landed before, but they found their comrades upon a ſmall rock, half a mile from the ſhore, ſtanding up to the middle in water, whither they had fled for refuge to eſcape the hands of forty or fifty well armed Spaniards, with guns and lances, who had burnt their boat: they were got upon the rock at low water; but it being then flowing water, they muſt have infallibly periſhed, had our canoes come but one hour later, which now brought them ſafe aboard. We afterwards ſeized upon two canoes, ready fitted, in this bay; for ſhips and barks they have

have none, nor any inſtrument for fiſhing, there being ſcarce any fiſh thereabouts. This country abounding in wood, called lance-wood, growing ſtraight, like ſo many aſhes, and very hard and tough, we cut a good quantity of it to make handles or ſtaves for oars, and ſcouring-rods for our guns, as being much more durable than thoſe made of aſh.

The 19th of July, the day before our departure from the bay of Caldera, Mr. Edward Davis, our quarter-maſter, was conſtituted captain, in the room of captain Cooke, deceaſed: the next day we ſailed, in company with captain Eaton, and one of our meal prizes, towards Rio Leja, with a moderate north wind, which brought us, in three days, over againſt the ſaid port. The country about Rio Leja is eaſily diſcovered at ſea, by reaſon of an high, peaked, burning mountain, called Volcano Vejo, the Old Volcano, by the Spaniards. It is eaſily diſtinguiſhed, being very high, ſo as to be ſeen twenty leagues at ſea; beſides that there is no other mountain, like this, on that coaſt; and it ſmokes all day, and alſo ſends forth flames at night. If you will make the harbour, the mountain muſt bear north-eaſt; then, ſteering directly with the mountain, that courſe will bring you to the harbour, the entrance whereof you ſee about three leagues off it. You muſt take the advantage of the ſea-winds to enter, which are here at ſouth ſouth-weſt. The harbour is incloſed by a low iſle, of a mile in length, a quarter of a mile broad, and one and half from the continent. At each end is a channel; that on the eaſt, being narrow, and having a very ſtrong tide, is ſcarce ever uſed; but that on the weſt end, being much larger, is moſt frequented by ſhips, which muſt, however, have a care of a certain ſandy ſhole on the north-weſt point of the iſle, which as ſoon as they are paſt, they muſt keep cloſe to the ſhore of the iſle, there being a ſand-bank, which runs above half-way out from the continent; after which, there is very good riding near the

the main ſhore, in ſeven or eight fathom water, clear hard ſand. This point is able to contain 200 ſhips. About two leagues thence is ſeated the town of Rio Leja, in a fenny country, full of red man-grove trees, betwixt two narrow branches of the ſea, the weſtermoſt whereof reaches up to the town, and the eaſtermoſt runs up near the backſide of it; but no ſhipping can come to the town; the deſcription whereof I will give the reader in my return hither.

Being in ſight of the Volcano Vejo, ſeven or eight leagues from the ſhore, the mouth bearing north-eaſt, we took in our topſails, and made towards the harbour; and then, ſetting out our canoes, rowed up to the ſmall town, that makes the harbour of Rio Leja, by nine o'clock in the morning; where we diſcovered an houſe, and ſoon after three men going into a canoe on the inſide of the iſland, and making what haſte they could to row to the continent; which before they could reach, we overtook them, and carried them to the little iſle. At the ſame time, we obſerved one on horſeback on the continent, riding away full ſpeed towards the town. They frankly confeſſed, that they had been placed there by the governor of Rio Leja, who had been adviſed of our coming into thoſe parts, to keep watch day and night; and that horſeman we ſaw riding away, was placed upon the ſame account on the continent, within an hour's riding of the town. Thus, finding ourſelves diſcovered, the horſeman being gone three hours before Eaton and his canoes came to the iſland, the deſign upon that town was laid aſide for this time. This ſmall iſland has a curious ſpring of freſh water, ſome trees, and good ſtore of graſs; but no beaſts to feed upon it; and is ſituated at 12° 10′ north latitude. We ſtaid till four o'clock in the afternoon; then we went aboard again; and, purſuant to a conſultation held betwixt captain Eaton and captain Davis July 26, took our courſe the next day for the gulph of Amapalla.

This

This gulph is a large branch of the ſea, entering eight or ten leagues deep into the country. On the ſouth ſide of its entrance, it has a point, or cape Caſwina; and, on the north-weſt ſide, St. Michael's Mountain, at 12° 40′ north latitude. They both appear very remarkable at ſea; for the cape is an high round point, the land near it being very low; and Mount Michael is a high peaked hill, not very ſteep, at the foot whereof, on the ſouth-eaſt, is a low plain of a mile in length. This bay or gulph has many iſlands, but uninhabited. One pretty large we ſaw belonging to a monaſtery, where four or five Indians looked after the cattle, that fed there in great numbers. This gulph has two channels, one betwixt cape Caſwina and Mangera, the other between this laſt place and Amapalla. The beſt anchorage is on the eaſt ſide of Amapalla, oppoſite to the low grounds, the reſt being high lands. As you go in deeper, you may ride on the north eaſt ſide of Amapalla, cloſe to the main. This the Spaniards call the port of Martin Lopez. The gulph extends a great way beyond the iſle; but it is not deep enough to bear ſhips of burden.

Captain Davis being ſent before, with two canoes into this gulph, to get ſome priſoners, he came to Mangera, where, finding a path from the creek, he followed it towards the town; but the inhabitants no ſooner had notice of his coming, than they ran all into the woods, leaving only the prieſt behind them; who being taken, with two boys his attendants, captain Davis made them conduct him to the iſle of Amapalla, where being landed, he marched up to the before-mentioned place, a mile from the landing-place, on the top of the hill. The inhabitants, who ſaw them advance, were ready to retire into the woods; but the ſecretary, an enemy to the Spaniards, having perſuaded them that they were friends, who craved their aſſiſtance againſt their common oppreſſors, they bid Davis and his men welcome. After the firſt ſalutation, they marched towards

wards the church, (the prieſt, brought along by captain Davis, at the head of them) their only place of public meeting, whether for conſultations or diverſions, where they kept their vizards, hautboys, ſtrumſtrums, (a kind of cittern) and other muſical inſtruments. Here they meet to make merry, eſpecially in the night preceding or next enſuing any holiday, where they dance, ſing and play, with antic dreſſes and geſtures; though, to ſpeak truth, their muſic and mirth have ſomething very melancholy in them, ſuitable to the yoke they groan under.

But to return to captain Davis: his intention was, as ſoon as they were all got into the church, to engage all their aſſiſtance againſt the Spaniards, to accompliſh which the prieſt had promiſed his good offices; but, juſt as a few of the remaining Indians were entering the church, one of captain Davis's men puſhed a man forwards, to haſten him into the church; which the Indian being frightened at, ſet up his heels, and the reſt, taking the alarm, followed; ſo that captain Davis and the frier being left alone in the church, he ordered his men to fire at them; which being done, the ſecretary was killed in the fray: and ſo the whole project vaniſhed into ſmoke, by the fooliſhneſs of one inconſiderate fellow. The ſame afternoon, our ſhip being entered the gulph between cape Caſwina and the iſle of Mangera, came to an anchor on the eaſt ſide, near the iſle of Amapalla. Captain Davis came aboard us with the frier, who told us, that, ſince the ſecretary was killed, they had no other way than to ſend for the caſica; which being done by the prieſt, he came, attended by ſix other Indians, who did us conſiderable ſervice in conducting us whither we had occaſion to go, eſpecially to fetch beef; for which they were rewarded to their ſatisfaction. On this iſland of Amapalla, a company of Engliſh and French landed afterward, and thence came to the continent, and marched by Land to the Cape River, which has got its name from

from its diſcharging itſelf into the north ſeas near Cape Gratia. At the ſource of this river they make bark-logs, wherewith they paſſed into the north ſeas. However, they were not the firſt who knew this paſſage, ſomething of it having been diſcovered by ſome Engliſh thirty years before, who went up this Cape River into the north ſeas in canoes, to the ſame place where the French built their bark-logs, and thence to an inland town called Segovia. They performed this not without incredible difficulty, and in no leſs than a month's time, by reaſon of the many cataracts of this River, which obliged them frequently to hale their canoes aſhore, and drag them over land, till they were paſt theſe water-falls. I have ſpoken with ſeveral, that were in this expedition, and, if I miſtake not, captain Sharpe was one of them. But to return to our voyage: after we had careened, and provided our ſhips with freſh water, captain Davis and captain Eaton broke off conſort-ſhip; and the laſt left the gulph September 2.

September 3, 1684, having ſeen the frier on ſhore, we ſailed with the land-wind at weſt north-weſt, out of the gulph of Amapalla through the channel betwixt Mangera and the iſle of Amapalla, directing our courſe to the coaſt of Peru. As the tornadoes, with thunder, lightening, and rains are very frequent on theſe coaſts from June to November, we had our ſhare of them, coming moſt from the ſouth-eaſt; but afterwards, the wind veering to the weſt, it held till we came within ſight of cape St. Franciſco, where we met with fair weather, and a ſouth wind. This cape, being an high full point of land, lies at 1° 20′ north latitude, and is covered with lofty trees. As you paſs by it from the north ſide, you may eaſily miſtake a ſmall low point for the cape; but, ſoon after you paſs it, you will diſcover it with triple points. The land near it is high, and the mountains appear black. We plied along the ſhore, for the advantage both of the ſea and land-winds, the

firſt blowing from the ſouth, as the land-winds do from ſouth ſouth-eaſt, though ſometimes, when we were oppoſite to a river's mouth, the wind would turn to ſouth-eaſt. September 20, we came to an anchor near the iſle of Plata, at ſixteen fathom, being now fallen in with the places whence I began the account of this voyage, after having compaſſed the whole continent of South America. The iſle of Plata, ſituated at 1° 10′ ſouth latitude, is about four miles in length, and one and an half in breadth, of a pretty good height, and incloſed with rocky cliffs, except in one place on the eaſt ſide, which is the only place where a freſh-water torrent falls down from the rocks. The top is flat and plain, the ſoil ſandy; yet it produces three or four ſorts of low and ſmall trees, not known in Europe. Theſe trees were much overgrown with moſs; and pretty good graſs is to be found here in the beginning of the year; but here are no land-animals to feed upon it, that vaſt number of goats, which uſed to be here formerly, being all deſtroyed. However, they have a great many boobies and men-of-war birds. Some ſay the Spaniards have given it the name of Plate Iſland, ever ſince ſir Francis Drake carried thither the Cacafuego, a rich ſhip of theirs laden with plate. The place for anchorage is on the eaſt ſide, about the middle of the iſle, cloſe to the ſhore, within two cables length of the ſandy bay, in eighteen or twenty fathom of faſt ouſy ground, and very ſmooth water; becauſe the ſouth-eaſt point of the iſle keeps off the force of the ſouth winds, which commonly blow here. In this ſandy bay, oppoſite to the anchoring-place, is good landing, this being the only place that leads up into the iſle. From the ſouth-eaſt point runs out a ſmall ſhole about a quarter of a mile into the ſea, where, when it flows, you ſee great riſing in the water. The tide is ſtrong, flowing to the ſouth, and ebbing to the north. At the ſame point are three ſmall, but high rocks, about a cable's

length from the isle; and as many, but much larger, at the north-east end. All round the island there is deep water, except in the before-mentioned road; and, near the shole, there are great plenty of small sea-turtles mentioned before: the island bears four or five leagues west south-west from cape St. Laurenzo.

After a day's stay here, we continued our voyage to point St. Helena, bearing south from the isle of Plata, at 2° 15′ south latitude. It appears high and flat like an isle, being surrounded with low grounds, and covered on the top with thistles; but without trees. As it jets out into the sea, it makes a good large bay to the north side, a mile within which, on the very sea-side, stands a wretched village, called also St. Helena, inhabited by Indians; but the ground, though low, being sandy and barren, they have neither trees nor grass, or any corn or fruit, except water-melons; which are very good here. They are forced to fetch their water as far as the river Calanche, four leagues thence, at the bottom of the same bay. They live chiefly upon fish, and are supplied with maiz for Algatrane. Near this town, about five paces above the high-water mark, there issues out of the earth a certain bituminous substance, called Algatrane by the Spaniards, which, by long boiling, becomes hard like pitch, and is used as such by the Spaniards. To the leeward of the point, directly opposite to the village, is good anchorage; but, on the west side, very deep water. Some of our men, being sent in the night-time to take the village, landed in their canoes in the morning, and took some prisoners, and a small bark set on fire by the inhabitants, alledging, that they had done it by special order from the viceroy. Our men coming back the same evening, we returned again into the isle of Plata, where we anchored September 26, which very evening, we sent some of our men to Manta, an Indian village, two or three leagues west

of cape St. Laurenzo, to get more priſoners, in hopes of better intelligence.

Manta is a ſmall village, inhabited by Indians, on the Continent, ſeven or eight leagues from the iſle of Plata. Its buildings are mean, and ſcattered; but, being raiſed on an eaſy aſcent, afford a very agreeable proſpect towards the ſea-ſide. The church here is very fine, and adorned with carved work, becauſe this place was formerly inhabited by Spaniards. As the grounds about it are dry and ſandy, they bear neither corn nor roots, but only a few ſhrubs. They are ſupplied with proviſions by ſea, this being the firſt place, where the ſhips bound from Panama to Lima, and other parts of Peru, refreſh themſelves. They have an excellent ſpring of freſh water between the village and the ſea. Juſt oppoſite to the village, one mile and an half from the ſhore, is a rock, which proves often dangerous, becauſe it never appears above water; but, a mile within this rock, is ſafe anchorage at ſix, eight, or ten fathom, hard and clear ſand. About a mile weſt from the anchoring-place, a ſhole runs out a mile into the ſea. Behind the town, directly ſouth of it, a good way into the country, ſtands a very high mountain, riſing up into the clouds like a ſugar-loaf; and therefore ſerves for a good ſea-mark, there being none other like it on all that coaſt. We returned to our men, who landed about day-break, one mile and half from the village; but the inhabitants, being already ſtirring, took the alarm, and ſo got all away, except two old women, who, being taken priſoners, declared, that the viceroy, upon news brought him, that a good number of the enemies were come over the iſthmus of Darien into the South Seas, had ordered the burning of their ſhips, the deſtroying of all the goats in the iſle of Plata, and no more proviſions to be kept than for their own preſent uſe.

We returned the next day to the iſle of Plata, where we found our ſhip. Here we ſtaid, unreſolved

ſolved what courſe to take, till October 2, when captain Swan, commander of the Cygnet of London, a rich ſhip, which was deſigned to trade on that coaſt, came to an anchor in the ſame road; but, being diſappointed in his hopes to traffic thereabouts, his men had forced him to take aboard a company of privateers he met with at Nicoya, being the ſame we were told of at Manta; for they were come by land, under the command of captain Peter Harris, nephew to the ſame captain Harris who was killed before Panama. Captain Swan's ſhip being unfit for ſervice, by reaſon of his cargo, moſt of his goods were ſold upon credit, and the reſt thrown overboard, except the fine commodities, and ſome iron for ballaſt. Then captain Davis and captain Swan joined company by conſent; and Harris had a ſmall bark given him. Our bark, which had been ſent three days before cruizing, brought in a prize laden with timber, which they had taken in the bay Guiaquil. The commander told us, that it was credibly reported at Guiaquil, that the viceroy was fitting out ten frigates to chaſe us out of thoſe ſeas. This made us wiſh for captain Eaton; and it was reſolved to ſend our ſmall bark towards Lima, to invite him to join company with us. This done, we fitted up another ſmall bark into a fireſhip; and, October 20, ſailed for the iſle of Lobos. The wind being very ſlack, we did not paſs by the point of St. Helena till the 23d, and the 25th croſſed the bay of Guiaquil. The 30th, we doubled the cape of Blanco, at 30° 48′, the worſt cape in the South Seas to double, becauſe you cannot here, as in moſt other places, ſtand off at ſea, by reaſon of the ſtrong current, which, ſetting north-weſt, will carry a ſhip off more in two hours, than ſhe can get again in five. Thus we were forced to keep near the ſhore, which is not often performed without great difficulty; for as there are no land-winds here, it generally blows hard at ſouth ſouth-weſt, or ſouth by weſt. The cape is ſur-

rounded with white rocks on the ſea-ſide, whence, queſtionleſs, it has got its name; and the country near it appears ſteep and rugged.

November 2, we lay about ſix leagues off Payta, whence we ſent ſeveral canoes, manned with 110 men, to attack the town, a ſmall ſea-port belonging to the Spaniards, at 5° 15′, built on a ſandy rock near the ſea-ſide, under an high hill. It has two churches, though not more than ſeventy five or eighty houſes, low, and meanly built. It is like moſt of the other buildings all along the coaſt of Peru. They build their walls with a kind of brick made of earth and ſtraw, dried only in the ſun, three feet long, two broad, and one ½ thick. In ſome places they only lay poles acroſs, covered with mats inſtead of roofs; but ſometimes they uſed roofs. The reaſon why they build ſo meanly, is partly becauſe they want materials of good ſtone and timber, partly becauſe it never rains, which only makes them ſolicitous of keeping out the ſun; and thoſe walls, tho' never ſo ſlight and brittle, yet will there hold firm for a conſiderable time, as they were at firſt, being not ſhaken or mouldered by the wind and rains. The timber the better ſort make uſe of in their buildings, is brought thither from other places. Their walls, as well as thoſe of their churches, are neatly whitened, both within and without, with very large beams, poſts, and doors, all adorned with carved work, beſides good pictures brought thither from Spain, and rich hangings of tapeſtry, or painted calicoes. But the houſes of Payta were not of that ſort, though their churches were large and handſome. Cloſe by the ſea is a ſmall fort, which, with muſquets only, commands the harbour, as another on the top of an hill commands both that and this fort. They are obliged to fetch their freſh water, as alſo their fowls, hogs, plaintains, and Maiz from Colon, a town two leagues north north-eaſt from Payta, where a freſh-water river empties itſelf into the ſea.

The

The dry track of this country begins to the north from cape Blanco, and reaches to Coquimbo, at 30° ſouth latitude, where I never ſaw or heard any rain, nor of any green thing growing, either in the mountains or valleys, except in ſome places watered conſtantly with divers rivers.

The people of Colon are much addicted to fiſhing, which they perform in bark-logs: theſe are compoſed of divers round logs of wood, like a rafter, but in different manners, according to the uſe for which they are intended. Thoſe deſigned for fiſhing are only three or four logs of light wood, eight feet long, joined to each other on the ſides with wooden pegs and withes. The middlemoſt is always longer than the reſt, eſpecially at the fore part, which ends, by degrees, in a point, the better to cut the waves. Thoſe intended for carrying merchandize are made after the ſame manner and ſhape, of twenty or thirty great trunks of trees, joined together, thirty or forty feet long. Upon theſe they faſten, with wooden pins, another ſhorter row of logs croſs-ways. From this double bottom they raiſe a raft of ten feet, by the means of poſts ſet upright, which are the ſupporters of two thick trees laid acroſs each other, juſt like our wood-piles, but not ſo cloſe as in the bottom of the float, and at the end and ſides only, the inner part being hollow. In this, at four feet high from the beam of the bottom, they lay ſmall poles cloſe together, which ſerve for a bottom of another room, on the top whereof they make juſt ſuch another floor. The firſt ſtory ſerves for the hold, in which they ſtow ballaſt, and water-caſks, or jars; and the ſecond for the ſeamen, and what belongs to them. Above this ſecond floor the goods are ſtowed, as high as they think fit, which ſeldom exceeds ten feet. Some ſpace is left behind for the ſteerſman, and before for the kitchen, eſpecially in long voyages, becauſe they ſometimes go 5 or 600 leagues. They have a very large rudder,

and, in the midſt of this machine, a maſt, with a large ſail, like our weſt-country barges.

As they cannot go but before the wind, they are only fit for thoſe ſeas, where the wind blows conſtantly one way, ſeldom varying above a point or two in the whole voyage betwixt Lima and Panama. If thereabouts they meet, as ſometimes it happens, with a north-weſt wind, they drive before it till it changes, having nothing elſe to do in the mean while but to avoid the ſhore; for they never ſink at ſea. Theſe laſt bark-logs carry ſixty or ſeventy tons of wine, oil, flour, ſugar, Quito cloth, ſoap, dreſſed goat-ſkins, &c. They are managed by three or four boatſmen only, who after they come to Panama, ſell both the goods and veſſel there, becauſe they cannot go back in them by the trade-wind. The fiſhing bark-logs are likewiſe furniſhed with maſts and ſails, and are much eaſier managed than the large ones. Theſe get out at night with the land-wind, and return in the day-time with the ſea-wind. Theſe ſmall bark-logs are uſed in a great many places in the Weſt Indies, and in ſome in the Eaſt Indies. On the coaſt of Coromandel they uſe only one, or ſometimes two logs, made of a light wood, without ſail or rudder managed by a ſingle man, who, with his legs in the water, ſteers the log with a paddle.

The next town of conſequence to Payta is Piura, a ſpacious place, forty miles thence, ſeated in a valley upon a river, which diſcharges itſelf into the bay of Chirapee, at 7° north latitude. This bay, though much nearer to Puna than Payta, yet is ſeldom viſited by ſhips of burden, being full of ſholes; but, inſtead thereof, they ſail to Payta, one of the beſt harbours on the coaſt of Peru; being ſheltered at the ſouth-weſt by a point of land, which renders the bay very ſmooth, and conſequently ſafe from anchorage, from ſix to twenty fathom in clear ſand. Moſt ſhips bound either to the north or ſouth touch at Payta for freſh water, which is brought thither from Colon

at

at a reaſonable rate. November 3, early in the morning, our men landed four miles ſouth of Payta, where they took ſome priſoners that were ſet for a watch, who told us, that the governor of Piura was come with 100 men to their aſſiſtance: notwithſtanding this, our men attacked the fort on the hill, and took it with little oppoſition; whereupon the governor and inhabitants quitted the town: our people ſoon entered it, but found it empty of money, goods, and proviſions. The ſame evening, we came with our ſhips to an anchor not far from the town, a mile from the ſhore, at ten fathom water; we ſtayed ſix days, in hopes of getting a ranſom for the town; but, perceiving we were not likely to have any, it was laid in aſhes.

At night we ſet ſail hence, with the land-wind towards Lobos. The 14th day we came within ſight of the iſle of Lobos de Terra, bearing eaſt from us; and, at eight o'clock at night, came to an anchor at the north-eaſt end of it, at four fathom water. The iſle of Lobos de la Terra is of an indifferent height; and, at a diſtance, appears altogether like the iſle of Lobos de la Mare; we anchored at the north-eaſt end of it, in four fathom water. It has, at the north end, a rock, a quarter of a mile from the ſhore; and, betwixt it, a channel of ſeven fathom water. In the afternoon, we ſailed with a ſouth-eaſt wind to Lobos de la Mare, where we arrived May 19. The 26th, in the evening, we diſcovered a bark at a diſtance, which was ſent to ſee whether we were ſtill in theſe ſeas; but we, keeping cloſe under the ſhore, remained there undiſcovered. The 29th, in the morning, we ſet ſail for the bay of Guaia, ſituated betwixt cape Blanco to the ſouth, and point Chandy to the north, twenty-five leagues from cape Blanco. In the bottom of this bay lies a ſmall iſle, called St. Clara, extending eaſt and weſt, having many ſholes to the Nore; which makes the ſhips, bound for Guiaquil, to paſs on the ſouth ſide of it.

The

The Spaniards ſay, there lies a very rich wreck on the north ſide; but that there is very hard coming at it, by reaſon of the great multitudes of cat-fiſh; which fiſh is not unlike a whiting, but with three fins on the back, and one on each ſide, which have each a bone; and, if they ſtrike into the fleſh, it proves frequently mortal: they are met with all along the American coaſts, and likewiſe in the Eaſt Indies; their fleſh is both ſweet and wholſome.

From the iſles of St. Clara to Punta Arena, the ſandy point being the weſtermoſt point of the iſles of Puna, is ſeven leagues eaſt north-eaſt: here ſhips, bound for Guiaquil, take in their pilots, which live in a town of the ſaid iſle, bearing the ſame name, on the ſouth ſide, ſeven leagues from point Arena. The iſle of Puna itſelf is low, ſtretching fourteen leagues eaſt and weſt, and five leagues broad: it has a ſtrong tide round the ſhore, which is full of little creeks and rivers: near this town is a ſmall point, where the inhabitants are obliged to keep a conſtant watch. The inland part of the iſle is good paſture-ground, intermixed with ſome wood-lands, producing divers, to us, unknown trees; and, amongſt the reſt, abundance of palmetoes. The houſes of the town of Puna are built on poſts ten or twelve feet high, into which they go up by ladders, and are thatched with palmeto-leaves: the like contrivance I have ſeen among the Malayans in the Eaſt Indies. The beſt place for anchorage is directly oppoſite to the town, within a cable's length of the ſhore, at five fathom water. From Puna to Guiaquil is ſeven leagues, and one league to the entrance of the river Guiaquil, which is two miles over, and afterwards runs up into the country in a pretty ſtrait channel, the ground, on both ſides marſhy, and full of red mangrove-trees: about four miles on this ſide of the town of Guiaquil the river is divided by a ſmall low iſland, into two chnanels; that to the ſouth-weſt is the broadeſt, though the other is as deep.

From

From the upper end of this iſle to the town is near a league, and the river thereabouts of the ſame breadth, where a ſhip of great burden may ride with ſafety, eſpecially towards that ſide where the town ſtands. It is ſeated cloſe by the river, partly on an aſcent, and partly on the foot of a ſmall hill, with a great deſcent towards the river-ſide. It is defended by two forts, erected on the low grounds, and another on the hill, being one of the beſt ſea-ports belonging to the Spaniards in the South Sea, under the juriſdiction of a governor, and beautified with divers fine churches, and other good buildings. They export cocoas, hides, tallow, ſarſaparilla, drugs, and woollen cloth, called Quito cloth.

Having formed a deſign againſt the town of Guiaquil, we left our ſhips at cape Blanco, and ſteered with a bark, and ſome canoes, to the iſle of St. Clara, in the bay of Guiaquil, and thence in two canoes to point Arena, where we took, the next day, ſome of the fiſhermen of Puna, and afterward their watch, together with the whole town and inhabitants. The next ebb, we took a bark laden with Quito-cloth, coming from Guiaquil; the maſter whereof told us, that there were three barks full of negroes coming with the next tide. From whence we, lying near the town of Puna, embarked all our men in canoes, leaving only five men aboard the bark, with orders not to fire at any thing till next morning at eight o'clock, by which time we ſuppoſed we ſhould have taken the town. We had not rowed above two miles, before we took one of the barks laden with negroes; the maſter whereof having told us, that the other two would not come out till the next tide, we rowed forward; but our canoes being heavily laden, it was break of day before we came within two leagues of the town, there being not above an hour's flood: now we abſconded all day in an adjacent creek; and, at the ſame time, ſent orders by one of our canoes to our bark left near Puna, not to fire

fire till the next day; but to no purpoſe; for the before-mentioned two barks with negroes, being come out of the harbour with the evening-tide, paſſed by without being ſeen or heard by us; and, falling down with the ebb towards Puna, our bark, ſeeing them full of men, fired three guns at them, before our canoes could bring them our laſt orders. But we took the maſters of both the barks, as they were making their eſcape on ſhore. The firing of theſe three guns put us all into great conſternation, as not queſtioning but that thereby the townſmen had taken the alarm; and that therefore ſome were for advancing to the town immediately, others for returning to our ſhips: but as the ebb tide hindered us from going upwards, ſo captain Davis, with fifty of his men, reſolved to march by land to the place; the reſt, judging it impracticable, remained in the creek to ſee the iſſue of the enterpriſe. After four hours captain Davis and his men, having been almoſt choaked in the marches among the mangrove-woods, returned without having been able to advance far on their way to the town. It was then reſolved to row up in ſight of the town; and, if we found ourſelves diſcovered, to retire without attempting: ſo, rowing through the north-eaſt channel, we got in the night in view of the town, when, at the diſcharge of a muſquet, we ſaw, on a ſudden, the whole town full of lights; where, as there was but one ſeen before, this appeared almoſt an infallible ſign that we were diſcovered; but, as ſome alledged, that theſe lights were uſed by the Spaniards in the nights before holidays, as the next day was, they upbraided captain Swan and his men with cowardice: we landed in a place two miles on this ſide of the town, which being all over-run with woods, we were forced to expect day-light. We had two Indians guides; one was run away from Guiaquil, the other a priſoner we had taken three days before; the laſt being led by a cord by one of captain Davis's men, who ſeemed one of the

the moſt forward in the enterprize; but now, perhaps, beginning to repent his raſhneſs, cut the rope wherewith the guide was tied, and ſo let him make his eſcape into the town: when he judged him to be out of danger of being retaken, he cried out, that ſomebody had cut the rope; ſo that, after we had ſearched in vain for our guides, it was unanimouſly reſolved to deſiſt. However, about break of day, we rowed up into the middle of the river, where we lay ſtill about half an hour, without being in the leaſt moleſted from the town, though we landed on the oppoſite bank to a beef-cloſe, and killed a cow. We returned the ninth to Puna; and, in our way, ſeized upon the three before-mentioned barks, laden with 1000 luſty negroes; out of them we kept about ſixty, and left the reſt with the barks behind; whereas, if we had carried them all to St. Maria, on the iſthmus of Darien, we might, with their aſſiſtance, have worked the gold mines on that ſide; and, by erecting a fort or two at the entrance of the river of St. Maria, and with the aſſiſtance of the natives our friends, and ſome thouſands of Engliſh and French privateers from all parts of the Weſt Indies, have not only maintained ourſelves there againſt all the power of Spain, but alſo extended our conqueſts to the coaſts and gold mines of Quito.

We ſet ſail again the 13th, and arrived at the iſle of Plata the 16th; where, after having provided ourſelves with freſh water on the continent, we parted our cloth, and reſolved unanimouſly to direct our courſe to Lovalia, a town in the bay of Panama. Accordingly we ſet ſail December 23, with a briſk ſouth ſouth-weſt wind, towards the bay of Panama. The next morning, we paſſed in ſight of cape Paſſao, 8′ ſouth of the line, being a round point, but very high, divided in the middle, bare towards the ſea, but covered with fruit-trees to the land-ſide; the land hilly and woody. Betwixt this and the cape St. Franciſco, you ſee abundance of ſmall points, which incloſe ſo many ſandy creeks, full of trees of ſeveral kinds.

As

As our deſign was to look for canoes, in ſome river or other unfrequented by the Spaniards, ſo our Indian pilots were but of little uſe to us: however, as we were indifferent for the reſt what river we came to, ſo we endeavoured to make the river of St. Iago, by reaſon of its nearneſs to the iſle of Gallo, in which there was much gold, and where there was ſafe anchorage for our ſhips. We paſſed by cape St. Franciſco; whence, to the north, the ſea-ſide is full of trees, of a vaſt height and thickneſs: from this cape the land runs more eaſterly into the bay of Panama, this cape being its boundary to the ſouth, as the iſles of Cobaya or Quito are to the north. Betwixt this cape and the iſle of Gallo are ſeveral large rivers, but we paſſed them all to go to St. Iago, a large navigable river, 2° north: about ſeven leagues up in the country it divides itſelf into two branches, which incloſe an iſle four leagues in circumference; the broadeſt is the ſouth-weſt channel; they are both very deep, but the narroweſt has ſandy banks at its entrance; ſo that, at low ebb, a canoe cannot paſs over them. Beyond the iſle, the river is a league broad, the channel ſtrait, with a ſwift current; it flows three leagues up the river, but to what height I am not able to tell: it runs through a very rich ſoil, producing all ſorts of the talleſt trees uſually found in this climate; but eſpecially red and white cotton-trees, and cabbage trees, of the largeſt kind.

The white cotton-tree grows not unlike an oak; but much taller and bigger; the trunk ſtrait, without any branches to the top, where it ſends forth ſtrong branches; the bark is very ſmooth, the leaves of the bigneſs of a plumb-tree-leaf, dark-green, oval, ſmooth, and jagged at the ends; they are not always biggeſt near the roots, but often in the middle of the trunks. The cotton they bear is ſilk-cotton, which falls in November and December upon the ground; but not ſo ſubſtantial as that of the cotton ſhrub, but rather like a down of thiſtles; they don't think it worth their while to gather it in the Weſt Indies,

but

but in the Eaſt Indies they put it into their pillows. In April the old leaves fall off, which, in a week's time, are ſupplied by freſh. The red cotton-tree is ſomewhat leſs; but, for the reſt, altogether like the other; except that it produces no cotton, and its wood hard, though both are ſomewhat ſpongy; they are found in the flat grounds, both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

The cabbage-tree is the talleſt in thoſe woods, ſome being above 120 feet high: it is likewiſe without boughs or branches, except on the top, where its branches are of the thickneſs of a man's arm, and twelve or fourteen feet long; two feet from the ſtem come forth ſmall long leaves, of an inch broad, ſo thick and regular on both ſides, that they cover the whole branch: in the midſt of theſe high branches ſhoots forth the cabbage itſelf; which, when taken out of the outward leaves, is a foot in length, and of the thickneſs of the ſmall of a man's leg, being white like milk, ſweet and wholſome: betwixt the cabbages and the large branches ſprout forth other ſmall twigs, two feet long, very cloſe together; at the extremities of which grow hard and round berries, of the bigneſs of a cherry, which, once a year, fall from the trees, and are excellent food for the hogs. The trunk has rings half a foot aſunder, the bark is thin and brittle, the wood hard and black, and the pith white; as the tree dies after its head is gone, they cut them down before they gather the fruit.

As the coaſt and country of Lima has continual dry weather, ſo this part of Peru is ſeldom without rains; which, perhaps, is one reaſon why they have made but ſmall diſcoveries on this coaſt: add to this, that when they go from Panama to Lima, they don't paſs along the coaſt, but ſail up to the weſt, as far as the Cobaya iſles, for the weſt winds, and thence ſtand over to the cape St. Franciſco: in their return they coaſt it; but their ſhips being then laden, are not

not fit to enter the rivers, which, as well as the ſea ſide, are covered with woods and buſhes, and therefore are fit places for the natives to lie in ambuſcade. Theſe Indians have ſome plantations of maiz and Plaintains, as alſo ſome fowls and hogs.

We entered the river of St. Iago, with four canoes, December 27, by the leſſer branches, and met with no inhabitants till within ſix leagues of its mouth, where we diſcovered two ſmall huts, thatched with palmeto-leaves; and, at the ſame time, Indians, with their families and houſhold goods, paddling againſt the ſtream much faſter than we could row, becauſe they kept near the banks. On the oppoſite ſide to the weſt, we ſaw many other huts a league off; but, the current being very rapid, we did not care to venture croſs it. In the two huts, on the eaſt ſide, we found nothing but a few plantains, fowls, and one hog, which ſeemed to be of the European kind, ſuch as the Spaniards brought formerly into America, but eſpecially to Jamaica, Hiſpaniola, and Cuba, where they feed in the woods (being marked beforehand) in the day-time; and at night are called, and kept in pens, by the ſounding of a conch-ſhell. On the continent of America, they don't turn their hogs into the woods. We returned the next morning into the river's mouth, with an intention to ſail on to the iſle of Gallo, where we had ordered our ſhips to meet us.

This iſle is but ſmall, and without inhabitants, ſeated at 3° north latitude, in a ſpacious bay, three leagues from the river Tomaco, and four leagues and a half from an Indian village of the ſame name: it is indifferently high, and well ſtored with timber-trees: at the north-eaſt end is a good ſandy bay, near which is a fine ſpring of freſh water, and againſt the bay is very good anchorage, at ſix or ſeven fathom water; there is but one channel to approach the iſle at four fathom water, but you muſt go in with the flood, and come out with the ebb. The river of Tomaco, ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed to have its riſe amongſt the rich mountains of Quito, has borrowed its name from an adjacent village of the ſame name. Its banks are well peopled by the Indians, and ſome Spaniards, who traffic for gold with them. It is ſo ſhallow at the entrance, that only barks can enter it. The town of Tomaco is a ſmall place, ſeated near the mouth of a river, for the entertainment of the Spaniards, who traffic in thoſe parts. From this place to the branch of the river of St. Iago, where we then were at anchor, is five leagues.

As the land here is low and full of creeks, we left the river December 21, and croſſed theſe ſmall bays in our canoes: in our way we ſaw an Indian houſe, whence we took the maſter, and whole family, and ſo rowed forward, and came at twelve at night to Tomaco: here we ſeized upon all the inhabitants; and, among the reſt, one Don Diego de Pinas, a Spaniſh knight, whoſe ſhip was not far off, at anchor, to lade timber: ſo we took her, and found thirteen jars of good wine aboard her, but no other lading. An Indian canoe came aboard us, with three of the natives, who were ſtrait and well-limb'd, but of low ſtature, with black hair, long viſages, and ſmall noſes and eyes, and of a dark complexion. The 31ſt, ſeveral of our men, who had been ſeven or eight leagues up the river, returned with their canoes, and brought along with them ſome ounces of gold they had found in a Spaniſh houſe, but the people were fled.

January 1, 1685, as we were going in our canoes from Tomaco towards Gallo, we took a packet of letters in a Spaniſh boat, ſent from Panama to Lima, whereby we underſtood, that the preſident of Panama wrote to haſten the plate-fleet thither from Lima, the Armada from Spain being come to Porto-Bello: this news ſoon made us alter our reſolution of going to Lavelia; inſtead whereof, it was reſolved to rendezvous among the King's, or Pearl Iſlands, not far

diſtant from Panama, and by which all ſhips, bound to Panama from the coaſt of Lima, muſt of neceſſity paſs. Accordingly we ſailed the 7th; the 8th, we took a ſhip of 90 tons, laden with flour, and continued our voyage with a gentle ſouth wind, towards Gorgonia, an iſle twenty-five leagues diſtant from that of Gallo, where we anchored the 9th, at the weſt ſide of it, in thirty-eighth fathom clean ground, two cables length from the ſhore, in a ſandy bay, the land againſt it very low *.

The 13th, we purſued our voyage to the King's Iſle, being now two men of war, and two tenders, one fireſhip, and the prize: we ſailed forward with the common trade-wind ſouth, along low land on the continent near the ſea-ſide, but with a proſpect of mountains deeper into the country. The 16th, we paſſed by cape Corientes, at 5° 10′ latitude, being an high point, with four ſmall hillocks on the top; the current then running ſtrong to the north. The 21ſt, we came in ſight of point Garachina, at 7° 20′ north latitude. The land is high, rocky, and without trees near the ſea-ſide: within the point is plenty of oyſters and muſſels. About twelve leagues from this point, are the King's or Pearl iſles: betwixt theſe and the before-mentioned point of Garachina, is a ſmall, flat, barren iſle, called Galleria, near which we came to anchor for that time. The King's or Pearl Iſles are a good number of low woody iſles, ſeven leagues from the continent, and twelve leagues from Panama, and fourteen leagues in length north north-weſt by north, and ſouth-eaſt by ſouth. In the maps they are called the Pearl Iſles, though I never could ſee one pearl-oyſter, or any thing like it near them. The channel, betwixt them and the continent is ſeven or eight leagues broad, of a moderate depth, and has good anchoring all along: the iſles, though lying cloſe together, yet have their channels

* This iſland is deſcribed by Woodes Rogers.

fit

fit for boats. At the end of St. Paul's iſle is a convenient careening place, in a good deep channel, incloſed by the land. You muſt enter in on the north ſide, where the tide riſes ten feet perpendicular. The 25th, we brought our ſhips in with a ſpring-tide; and, after having cleaned our barks firſt, we ſent them the 27th to cruize towards Panama: they brought us, the fourth day after, a prize, coming from Lavelia with maiz, or Indian corn, ſalted beef, and fowls. Lavelia is a large town, ſeated on the bank of a river, on the north ſide of the bay of Panama, ſeven leagues from the ſea-ſide: as Nata is another town, ſeated in a plain, near another branch of the ſame river: theſe two places ſupply Panama with hogs, fowl, beef, and maiz. In the harbour where we careened, we found abundance of ſhell-fiſh, with ſome pigeons and turtle doves.

Our ſhips being well careened by the 14th of February, and provided with fuel and water, we ſailed out from amongſt the iſles the 18th, and anchored in the great channel, betwixt the iſles and the continent, at fifteen fathom water, ſoft ouſy ground; and the next day cruized in the channel towards Panama, about which the ſhore appears very beautiful, with variety of ſmall woods and hills; beſides that, a league from the continent, you ſee divers ſmall iſles, ſcattered partly with trees; and the King's Iſles; on the other ſide the channel afford a very fair proſpect, according to their various ſhapes and ſituations. The 16th, we anchored within a league of the iſland of Pacheque, in ſeventeen fathom water; and the 18th, ſteered our courſe with a north-eaſt wind directly towards Panama, where we anchored directly oppoſite to Old Panama, once a place of note in thoſe parts; but the greateſt part thereof being laid in aſhes in 1673, by ſir Henry Morgan, it was never rebuilt ſince.

About four leagues from the ruins of Old Panama, near the river-ſide, ſtands New Panama, a very

handſome city, in a ſpacious bay of the ſame name, into which diſembogue many long navigable rivers, ſome whereof are not without gold; beſide that, it is beautified with many pleaſant iſles; the country about it affording a delightful proſpect to the ſea, by reaſon of variety of adjacent hills, vallies, groves, and plains: the houſes are for the moſt part of brick, and pretty lofty, eſpecially the preſident's; the churches, monaſteries, and other public ſtructures, which make the beſt ſhew in the Weſt Indies: it is encompaſſed with a high wall of ſtone, on which are mounted a good number of guns, which formerly were only planted to the land-ſide, but now alſo to the ſea. This city has a vaſt traffic, as being the ſtaple for all goods to and from all parts of Peru and Chili; beſide that, every three years, when the Spaniſh Armada comes to Porto-Bello, the plate-fleet comes thither with the king's plate, beſide what belongs to the merchants; whence it is carried on mules by land to Porto-Bello.

The 20th, we anchored within a league of three little rocky iſlands, called the Perico iſlands; and, the 21ſt, took another prize, laden with hogs, beef, fowl, and ſalt, from Lavelia. The 24th, ſteered over to the iſle of Tobago, in the ſame bay, ſix leagues ſouth of Panama: its length three miles, and its breadth two. It is very rocky and ſteep, except on the north ſide, where it has an eaſy deſcent; and, as the ſoil is black and good up to the middle of the mountains, they produce abundance of fruit, as plantains, bananas, and, near the ſea-ſide, cocoa and mammee-trees; theſe laſt are large and ſtrait, without knots, boughs, or bunches, and ſixty or ſeventy feet high. At the tops ſprout out ſome ſmall branches, thick and cloſe together; the fruit is of the bigneſs of a large quince, round, and covered with a grey rind, which, before it is ripe, is brittle; but, when come to maturity, grows yellow, and will peel with eaſe. The ripe fruit is of the ſame colour,

lour, like a carrot, ſmells and taſtes well, and has two rough flat ſtones in the middle, each of the bigneſs of a large almond. The ſouth-weſt ſide is covered with trees and fire-wood, but the north ſide has a very fine freſh-water ſpring, which falls from the mountains into the ſea. Near it formerly ſtood a pretty town, with a fair church, but the greateſt part has been deſtroyed by the privateers. Oppoſite to the town, a mile from the ſhore, is good anchoring, ſixteen or eighteen fathom water, ſoft ouſy ground. At the north north-weſt end lies a ſmall town, called Tobagilla, with a channel betwixt both; and on the north-eaſt ſide of Tobagilla, another ſmall one, without a name.

Whilſt we were at an anchor near Tobagilla, we were in great danger of being trepanned by a pretended merchant of Panama, who, under colour of trading privately with us, inſtead of a bark, advanced with a fire-ſhip, pretty near us, hailing us with the water-word. Thereupon, ſome of our men, more ſuſpicious than the reſt, bid her come to an anchor; which ſhe not doing, they fired at her; which ſo terrified the men, that they got into their canoes, after they had ſet her on fire, and we were forced to cut our cables, to eſcape the danger. At the ſame time captain Swan, who lay a mile from us at anchor, ſaw a ſmall float, with only one man upon it, driving towards his ſhip, but ſoon after diſappeared; he ſuppoſed this to have been a machine, made up with combuſtible matter, to faſten to his rudder, (as it happened to captain Sharpe near Coquimbo) but that the fellow, thinking himſelf diſcovered, had not courage enough to go forward in the enterprize; but captain Swan thought alſo fit to cut his cables, and to keep under ſail all night. The fire-ſhip was framed and managed by one captain Bond, who formerly run away from us to the Spaniards, without whoſe aſſiſtance they could not have fitted her out; it being almoſt incredible, how groſsly ignorant the Spaniards, in the South Seas, are in

ſea affairs. In the morning, while we were buſy in recovering our anchors, we diſcovered a whole fleet of canoes, full of men, paſs betwixt Tobagilla and the other iſle, who proved Engliſh and French privateers, lately come out of the North Sea over the Iſthmus of Darien; there were 280 in all, 200 French and 80 Engliſh; theſe laſt were taken aboard captain Davis and captain Swan, and the reſt put into our flour-prize, under the command of captain Gronet, their countrymen; in return for which, he offered captain Davis and captain Swan, each a commiſſion from the governor of Petit Goave, it being their cuſtom to carry along with them blank commiſſions from the ſaid governor. Captain Davis accepted of one; but captain Swan, having one from the duke of York, refuſed it.

Every thing being thus diſpoſed, we ſet ſail, March the 2d, towards the gulph of St. Michael, in queſt of captain Townley (who, they told us, was coming with 180 Engliſh over the iſthmus of Darien.) This gulph lies thirty leagues ſouth-eaſt from Panama, and you muſt turn for paſſage betwixt the King's Iſles and the Continent.

March 3, as we were ſteering for the gulph, captain Swan kept near to the Continent, as we did nearer to the King's Iſles; where, at two of the clock in the afternoon, near the place where we had careened our ſhips, we met captain Townley with his crew, in two barks which they had taken, one laden with brandy, wine, and ſugar, and the other with flour. As he wanted room for his men, and had occaſion for the jars in which the Spaniards carry their wines, brandy, and oil, in theſe parts, containing ſeven or eight gallons a-piece, he diſtributed part thereof amongſt our ſhips, being then all at anchor among the King's Iſlands: but, as it was towards the latter end of the dry ſeaſon, and all the water dried up, we ſailed to the point of Garrachina, in hopes of finding freſh water. The 21ſt, we anchored

chored two miles from the point, and found the tide very ſtrong, coming out of the river Sambo. The 22d, we anchored at four fathom within the point; we found the tide to run nine feet, and the flood to ſet north north-eaſt, and the ebb ſouth ſouth-weſt: the natives brought us ſome refreſhments; but, as they did not underſtand in the leaſt the Spaniſh tongue, I ſuppoſe they had no commerce with the Spaniards. Meeting with no freſh water here, we ſet ſail for Porto-Pinas, lying ſeven leagues ſouthward by weſt hence, at 7° north latitude. It derived its name from the vaſt numbers of pine-trees growing there.

The country riſes, from the ſea-ſide, by a gentle aſcent, to a conſiderable height, and is pretty woody near the ſhore: at the entrance of the harbour are two ſmall rocks, which render the paſſage into it narrow, and the harbour but of a ſlender compaſs; beſide that, it lies expoſed to the ſouth-weſt wind. This made us not go into the harbour, but ſend our boats to bring ſome freſh water, which they could not perform, by reaſon of the high ſea near the ſhore; ſo we turned towards point Garrachina, where we arrived the 29th. In our way, we took a veſſel laden with cocoa from Guaiaquil: finding ourſelves here alſo diſappointed in getting of freſh water, we ſailed the 30th for Tobago, with a ſouth ſouth-weſt wind, being now in all nine ſhips. April 1, we anchored at the iſle of Pacheque, and the 3d at Perico: our men took a canoe, with four Indians, and a mulatto; who, being found to have been in the fireſhip that was ſent to burn our ſhip, was hanged immediately.

Whilſt we were employed in filling of water, and cutting of wood for fuel, we ſent four canoes to the Continent, to get ſome ſugar in the adjacent ſugar-works, to make our cocoa up into chocolate; but eſpecially to get ſome coppers, which we much wanted to boil our victuals in, ſince our number was ſo conſiderably increaſed: they brought us three cop-

pers. In the mean while, captain Davis ſent his bark to the iſle of Ottoque, ſeated in the bay of Panama, but uninhabited, except by a few negroe ſlaves, who bred up ſome fowls and hogs there. Here our men met with a meſſenger ſent to Panama, with an account that the Lima fleet was ſailed: moſt of the letters had been thrown into the ſea; yet, out of the remaining part, we underſtood that the fleet was coming under a convoy, compoſed of all the ſhips of ſtrength that they had been able to bring together from Peru. Being informed that the king's ſhips always came that way where we now lay, we ſailed the 10th from Tobago to the King's Iſles, and the 11th anchored at the place, where we careened. Here we met with captain Harris, who had brought along with him ſome men (we had heard the Indians mention before) from the river St. Maria, but they were not near ſo many as they reported. The 19th, 250 men were ſent in canoes to the river Cheapo, to ſurpriſe the town of the ſame name. The 21ſt, we followed, and arrived the 22d at the iſle of Chepelio, a pleaſant iſland, ſeated in the bay of Panama, ſeven leagues from the city of that name, and one league from the Continent, being about two miles long, and as many broad, low on the north ſide, but riſing by an eaſy aſcent to the ſouth. The ſoil is very good, producing in the low grounds ſtore of delicious fruits, ſuch as plantains, ſapadilloes, avogato-pears, mammees, mammee-ſapotas, ſtar-apples, &c. On the north ſide, half a mile from the ſhore, is a good anchoring-place, where is alſo a very good ſpring of freſh water near the ſea-ſide. This iſle lies directly oppoſite to the river Cheapo.

The river of Cheapo has its riſe in the mountains on the north ſide, being incloſed afterward between them and the mountains on the ſouth ſide. It turns to the weſt, and at laſt, forcing its way to the ſouth-weſt, makes a kind of a ſemicircle, and afterward runs gently to the ſea, where it diſcharges itſelf ſe-

ven leagues from Panama. It is very deep, and a quarter of a mile broad; but, by reaſon of the ſands, that choke up its entrance, is navigable only by barks. About ſix leagues from the ſea-ſide ſtands the city of Cheapo, on the left bank of the river, in a champagne country, affording a very pleaſant view, by reaſon of divers adjacent hills, covered with woods, though the greateſt part is good paſture-ground; but the ſouth ſide of the river is all wood-land for many leagues. The 250 men before-mentioned, ſent to this place, returned the 24th, having taken the town without the leaſt oppoſition; but found nothing worth mentioning there. In the way thither, they took a canoe with armed men; ſent to watch our motions; but the men eſcaped for the moſt part. The 25th being joined by captain Harris, we ſailed the 26th, and arrived at Tobago the 28th; and finding ourſelves now 1000 ſtrong, it was conſulted, whether we ſhould make an attempt upon Panama; but being informed by our priſoners, that they had received a conſiderable reinforcement from Porto-Bello, that deſign was laid aſide. May 4, we ſailed again for the King's Iſles, whereabout we cruiſed till the 22d, when we ſent two canoes to the iſle of Chepello, to get ſome priſoners. They returned the 25th, with three ſeamen of Panama, who informed us, that, having iſſued a ſtrict order there, not to fetch any plantains from the adjacent iſles, this had occaſioned a great ſcarcity; and that they expected every day the arrival of the fleet from Lima. On the ſouth ſide of the iſle Pacheque lie two or three ſmall iſles, and betwixt them a channel not above ſeven paces wide, and a mile in length. On the eaſt ſide of this channel we lay at anchor with our whole fleet, conſiſting of ten ſail, but only two men of war, viz. captain Davis, thirty-ſix guns, 156 men; and captain Swan, ſixteen guns, 140 men; the reſt being provided only with ſmall arms, making in all 960 men; we had alſo one fireſhip. Hitherto we had

had the wind at north north-eaſt, with fair weather; but, the 28th, the rainy ſeaſon began. About eleven of the clock, it beginning to clear up, we diſcovered the Spaniſh fleet three leagues weſt north-weſt from the iſle of Pacheque, ſtanding to the eaſt, we being then at anchor a league ſouth-eaſt from the iſle, betwixt it and the Continent. About three in the afternoon we ſailed, bearing down right before the wind upon the Spaniards, who kept cloſe on a wind to come up with us; but night approaching, we exchanged only a few ſhot. As ſoon as it began to be dark, the Spaniſh admiral put out a light at his top, as a ſignal for the fleet to come to an anchor. In half an hour after, it was taken down again; but appeared ſoon after as before, which we ſuppoſing to be in the admiral's top, kept under ſail, being to the windward; but found ourſelves deceived in our expectation, by a ſtratagem contrived by the Spaniards, who, having put this ſecond light on the topmaſt-head of one of their barks, ſent her to the leeward; ſo that, in the morning, we found that they had got the weather-gage of us. They came up with full ſail; ſo we were forced to make a running fight of it all the next day, almoſt quite round the bay of Panama; for we came to anchor againſt the iſle of Pacheque. Captain Townley, being hard preſſed by the Spaniards, was forced to make a bold run through the before-mentioned channel, betwixt Pacheque and the three adjacent ſmall iſles; and captain Harris was forced away from us during the fight. Thus our long projected deſign vaniſhed into ſmoke. The Spaniſh fleet, according to the report of ſome priſoners taken afterwards by captain Wright, conſiſted of fourteen ſail, beſides periagoes, or boats of twelve or fourteen oars a-piece, among which were eight ſhips of good force; viz. from eight to forty-eight guns. They were computed to have 3000 men aboard the whole fleet, and two fireſhips. The 30th, in the morning, we ſaw the Spaniſh fleet three leagues

to

to the leeward of us at anchor; and, at ten of the clock, with an eaſy gale from the ſouth, making the beſt of their way to Panama. We do not know their loſs. We had but one man killed. Captain Gronet, who was not in the fight, laid the fault thereof on his men. He was ordered to leave us, in a conſultation held for that purpoſe, where it was alſo reſolved to ſail for the iſles of Quibo, or Cobaya, in queſt of captain Harris.

In our voyage to Quibo, the wind being conſtantly at ſouth ſouth-weſt and ſouth-weſt, we met with very bad weather; ſo that we did not reach theſe iſles till June 15, where we met with captain Harris *.

June 6, it being agreed, that, ſince we had miſſed at ſea, we ſhould try our fortune by land, the city of Leon was pitched upon, (on the coaſt of Mexico) as being neareſt to us; but, wanting canoes to land our men, we cut down trees, to make as many as we had occaſion for. In the mean time 150 men were ſent to make themſelves maſters of Puebla Nova, (a town on the continent near theſe iſles) in hopes of getting ſome proviſions there. They took the town with much difficulty, and returned the 26th; but met with nothing there, except an empty bark. July 5, captain Knight came to us, having been farther to the weſt, where meeting with no purchaſe, he ſailed to the ſouth as far as the Bay of Guaiaquil, where he took two bark-logs with wine, oil, brandy, ſugar, ſoap, &c. The maſter declared, that the merchant-ſhips deſigned to have been ſent away by the Spaniſh fleet to Panama, did ſtay behind at Payta, till farther orders; and that, had he had more ſtrength, they might eaſily have been taken. In a month's time, our canoes being got ready, captain Harris, with his men, went on board captain Davis and captain Swan (his ſhip being rotten); and,

* As the deſcriptions in Anſon undoubtedly deſerve the preference, we refer to his voyage for an account of Quibo.

July 20, we ſailed from Quibo towards Rio Leja, the next port to the city of Leon, being now 640 men, eight ſail of ſhips, three tenders, and a fire-ſhip, the wind at ſouth ſouth-weſt. Coaſting along, we paſſed by the gulph of Nicoya, that of Dulce, and the iſle of Caneo, the land low, covered with wood, and almoſt deſtitute of inhabitants. We had variable winds: but moſt ſouth-weſt and weſt ſouth-weſt, the land-winds at north north-eaſt. We were much peſtered with tornadoes. Auguſt 8, at 11° 20′ north latitude, we diſcovered the Volcano Vejo, or old Volcano, the ſea-mark of Rio Leja, bearing north-eaſt by north; and no ſooner had we brought the ſaid mountain to bear north-eaſt, but we made proviſion for landing the next day.

The 9th, we ſent 520 of our men in thirty-one canoes towards the harbour of Rio Lega. The weather was fair, and the wind favourable, till two in the afternoon, when a tempeſt, mixed with thunder and lightning, had almoſt buried us in the ſea; but, after half an hour, it began to abate, and ſo did the agitation of the ſea, it being obſervable, in thoſe hot countries, that the waves ſoon riſe and fall. At ſeven of the clock at night it was calm; but, finding we could not be ready to land before day, being five leagues from ſhore, we ſtaid thereabout till next evening, for fear of being diſcovered; but, about three of the clock, another tornado had like to have put an end to our enterprize. However, as the ſame did not laſt long, we entered the creek lying on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the harbour, leading to Leva, in the night; but durſt not go farther till day-break, when we rowed deeper into the creek, which is very narrow, and the land on both ſides marſhy near the banks, and full of mangrove-trees; ſo that there is no paſſing through them. Beyond the mangrove-trees, upon the firm ground, they caſt up a ſmall intrenchment. We rowed as faſt as we could, and landed

470 men, leaving the reſt (of which number I was one) to guard the canoes.

The city of Leon ſtands twenty miles in the country, in a ſandy plain, near a peaked burning mountain, thence called the volcano of Leon, the way to it being through a champagne country, covered with long graſs. Betwixt the landing-place and the city were ſeveral ſugar-works; and, about mid-way a delicious fordable river, being the only thing they met with in their way. Two miles on this ſide the city is an Indian town, where a pleaſant ſandy road leads you to the city, the houſes whereof are ſtone, and large, with gardens about them; but low, and covered with pantile. It has three churches and a cathedral. Its ſituation is in a ſandy plain, with ſavannas all round about it, which drink up the rain, and afford a free paſſage to the breezes from all ſides. This makes it both healthful and pleaſant, though it is not a place of great commerce, all their ſubſtance being in cattle and ſugar-works.

Our men marched at eight of the clock, captain Townley leading the van, at the head of eighty of the briſkeſt men. Captain Swan followed him with 100 more; and captain Davis brought up the rear with 170, in conjunction with captain Knight. Captain Townley, being advanced two miles before the reſt, and having forced ſeventy horſe to a retreat at four miles on this ſide of the city, marched forward, and, at three of the clock in the afternoon, with his eighty men only, entered the town without reſiſtance; but met with ſome oppoſition from five hundred foot and two hundred horſe, firſt in a broad ſtreet, and afterwards in the great market place; but the foot, ſeeing the horſe take to their heels, alſo retreated, leaving the town to our people's mercy. Captain Swan came not into the town till four o'clock; Davis about five; and Knight, with the remainder, not till ſix. The Spaniards killed one of our men, that ſtraggled behind, being very old, and refuſing to accept of quarter;

and

and took one Smith priſoner. Next day, the governor ſent word he would ranſom the town. We demanded 30,000 pieces of eight, and proviſions for 1000 men for four months; which he not reliſhing, we ſet the city on fire the 14th, and marched toward our canoes the next morning. Smith was exchanged for a gentlewoman. We releaſed another gentleman, upon his parole to deliver to us 150 oxen for his ranſom at Rio Leja, the place we intended to attack next.

The 16th in the afternoon, we came back in our canoes to the harbour of Rio Leja, where our ſhips were come to an anchor by that time. The Creek, that leads from Rio Leja, extends from the north-weſt part of the harbour's mouth to the north, about two leagues from the iſle in the harbour's mouth, to the town. The firſt two-third parts are broad; but afterwards cloſes in a narrow deep channel, lined on both ſides with many cocoa-trees. A mile from the entrance of the creek, it winds to the weſt. Here it was, that the Spaniards caſt up an intrenchment, fronting the entrance of the creek, defended by 100 ſoldiers, and twenty guards. Below it a boom of trees was made acroſs the creek; ſo that they might have kept off 1000 men, had they not wanted courage to keep their poſt; but, at the firing of two of our guns, they quitted it, leaving us at liberty to cut down the boom. This done, we landed, and marched to the town of Rio Leja, a fine borough, ſeated a mile thence, upon a ſmall river, in a plain. It has three churches, and an hoſpital with a handſome garden to it, the place being ſeated in an unwholeſome air, among the fens and marſhes, which ſend forth a noiſome ſcent. We took the town without the leaſt oppoſition. The country about it has many ſugar-works, and incloſures for cattle; and great quantities of pitch, tar and cordage are made by the country-people. It produces alſo melons, pine-apples, guavas, and prickle-pears.

The

The ſhrub, that bears the guava-fruit, has long and ſmall boughs, a white and ſmooth bark, and leaves like the haſle. The fruit reſembles a pear, with a thin rind, and many hard ſeeds. It may be eaten while green, a thing ſeldom obſerved in fruits either in the eaſt or weſt Indies. It is yellow, ſoft, and well-taſted. After it is ripe, it may be baked like pears, and will coddle like apples. There are different ſorts, diſtinguiſhed by their ſhape, taſte, and colour; ſome being red, others yellow, in the inſide. Before it is ripe, it is aſtringent; but afterwards looſening. The prickle pear grows upon a ſhrub five feet high, in many places in the Weſt Indies. It thrives beſt in ſaltiſh ſandy grounds, near the ſea-ſhore. Each branch of this ſhrub has two or three round leaves, of the breadth of a man's hand, not unlike houſe-leek, edged with prickles of an inch long. At the extremity of the leaf grows the fruit, of the bigneſs of a large plum, ſmall towards the leaf, and thicker to the end, where it opens like a medlar. The fruit has alſo ſmall prickles, is green at firſt, but turns red by degrees. The pulp is of the ſame colour with the ſubſtance of a thick ſyrup, with ſmall black ſeeds. Its taſte is pleaſant and cooling. I have often obſerved, that, if you eat twenty or more of them at a time, they will colour the urine as red as blood; but without any ill conſequence.

We found nothing conſiderable in the town, except 500 packs of flour, and ſome pitch, tar, and cordage. We received alſo the 150 oxen promiſed by the gentleman we releaſed at Leon, which, together with the ſugar, and ſome other cattle we found in the country, was extremely welcome to us. We ſtaid here from the 17th to the 24th. The 25th, captain Davis and captain Swan parted, the firſt having a mind to return to the coaſt of Peru; the other intending to go farther to the weſt. As I had a curioſity to be better acquainted with the northern parts

of

of the continent of Mexico, I left captain Davis, and went aboard captain Swan. Captain Townley, with his two barks, joined us; but captain Harris and captain Knight followed captain Davis. The 27th, captain Davis with his ſhip, went out of the harbour; but we ſtaid ſome time behind, to provide ourſelves with water and fuel.

By this time our men began to be much afflicted with fevers, which we attributed to the remains of a contagious diſtemper, that lately reigned at Rio Leja; for captain Davis's men underwent the ſame fate. September 3, we ſailed again, ſteering to the weſt. We had bad weather all along the coaſt, with violent tornadoes, thunder and lightning. The tornadoes blew from the north-weſt. The tempeſtuous weather kept us out at ſea; ſo that we ſaw no land till the 14th, at 12° 51′ north latitude. We came in ſight of the volcano or burning mountain of Guatimala. It appears with a double peak, like two ſugar-loaves, betwixt which ſometimes break out the fire and ſmoke, eſpecially before bad weather. The city of Guatimala is ſeated near the foot of this high mountain, eight leagues from the South Sea, and forty or fifty leagues from the Gulph of Matique in the Bay of Honduras in the North Seas. It is reputed a rich city, the country about it abounding in ſeveral commodities peculiar to it, and tranſported thence into Europe, eſpecially the four noted dyes, indico, otta or annatta, ſilveſter, and cochineal. The land near the volcano of Guatimala is low by the ſea-ſide; but, by degrees, becomes higher and higher for about ten leagues from the ſhore. We ſaw abundance of drift-wood and pumice-ſtones floating in the ſea. Theſe laſt were thrown out by the mountain, and waſhed by the rains into the ſea. The 24th, at 14° 30′ north latitude, the weather being ſettled, captain Townley went aſhore with 106 men to the weſt, in hopes to find a landing place, and ſome refreſhments for our ſick men. We lay by

by till the 26th, when, coaſting along to the weſt, with a north-weſt wind, we ſaw a track of high land, beginning at the eaſt, and running for ten leagues within the land to the weſt, where it ſinks by an eaſy deſcent. On this ſide of it, near to the ſea, we ſaw rich paſture-plains, mixed with pleaſant groves. The country near the ſea-ſhore was defended by ſandy hills; but the boiſterous waves would not let our men land with their canoes. We were forced to coaſt ſtill for eight or nine leagues farther; but captain Townley, ſeeing no proſpect of landing, returned aboard with his men October 2. But, being reſolved to try his fortune again, he forced his canoes aſhore in a ſandy bay, where he landed with the loſs of one man, and moſt of the powder ſpoiled with the ſalt water. When they were got aſhore, they found the country full of torrents, and unfordable rivulets; ſo they were forced to return to their canoes. They were charged by 200 Spaniards and Indians; but theſe they ſoon repulſed, and forced them to take the way of Teguantapeque, the ſame town that captain Townley went to look for, but could not get ſight of it. Immediately after his return, we ſailed again, with a briſk north north-eaſt wind, ſtill coaſting to the weſt, within two miles of the ſhore. At ſix miles from the land we found nineteen fathom, and, at eight miles, twenty-one fathom, coarſe ſand. We could not diſcover either creek or bay for twenty leagues farther, till we came to the iſle of Tangola, where there is ſafe anchorage. It is high, but ſmall, yet well furniſhed with wood and water, about a league from the Continent, which has pleaſant paſture-grounds near the ſea, but high woodland deeper in the country. We ſailed a league farther into the port of Guatulco, one of the beſt in the kingdom of Mexico, at 15° 30′ north latitude. On the eaſt ſide of the entrance of the harbour, about a mile from it, is a ſmall iſland adjacent to the ſhore, and, on the weſt ſide of the ſaid entrance, a great

hollow rock, open at the top, through which the waves of the ſea force their paſſage, as if through a pipe, with a great noiſe, and to a great height, even in the calmeſt weather; ſo that it affords a good mark to ſeamen bound for this port. The whole depth of the harbour is about three miles, and its breadth one mile. It runs in north-weſt. The weſt ſide is the more ſecure, becauſe the reſt is expoſed to the ſouth-weſt winds, which are frequently on this coaſt.

Here captain Townley landed again with ſome men; and, marching to the eaſt, came to the river Capalita, which has a very ſwift current; but is deep at its entrance. A league from Guatulco, two of our men ſwam over the river, where they ſeized upon three Indians, that were placed there to keep watch. As they could not ſpeak Spaniſh, ſo they made ſigns, that they could conduct them to a village; whereupon 140 men were ſent, under the conduct of captain Townley, myſelf being one, who returned the 8th, having ſeen, after fourteen miles march, a ſmall Indian village, where they found nothing but ſome vinelloes drying in the ſun. The vinello is a perfume which communicates a delicate flavour to chocolate; it grows on a ſmall kind of vine, creeping up about the trees. This, at firſt, bears a yellow flower, which produces a cod of the bigneſs of the ſtem of a tobacco-leaf, and about four or five inches long. This cod is green at firſt, but, when ripe, becomes yellow: the ſeeds are black. After they are gathered, they lay them in the ſun, which makes them ſoft, and of a cheſnut-colour. They ſqueeze it flat afterwards with their fingers. The Spaniards, who buy this commodity very cheap of the Indians, ſlake them afterwards with oil. I never heard of any of the vinelloes, except hereabouts, about Caiocha in the bay of Campeachy, and Bocco-toro. Near this laſt place, I gathered them myſelf, and endeavoured to cure them, but could not; and, as I know other

perſons, who have lived many years in theſe parts, and have attempted the ſame with no better ſucceſs, I am apt to believe the Indians have ſome peculiar way to cure them, that hitherto is unknown to us.

The 10th, we ſent four canoes before to the weſt, to expect our coming at Port Angels; and, in the mean while, endeavoured to take ſome priſoners. The 12th, we ſailed with our ſhips from Guatulco, the land lying along to the weſt, inclining to the ſouth, for twenty or thirty leagues, the ſea-winds at north. We coaſted along as near as we could to the ſhore, to take the benefit of the land-wind, the ſea wind being againſt us, beſides that we were kept back by the current ſetting to the eaſt; ſo that we were forced to come to an anchor at Sacrificio, an iſle half a mile long, a league to the weſt of Guatulco, and half a mile from the continent. To the weſt of the iſle appears a good bay, but it is rocky. The beſt anchorage is betwixt the iſle and the continent, at five or ſix fathom water, though the tide is pretty ſtrong here, the ſea riſing about ſix feet. The 23d, we landed 100 men at Port Angels, who ſubſiſted three or four days upon ſalt beef, and got ſtore of ſalt maiz, hogs, cocks and hens, in an adjacent houſe to the plain; but could carry but little aboard, by reaſon of the great diſtance from the ſea-ſide. The 27th, we ſailed in the morning with the land-wind; about noon the ſea-wind blew; and, at night, we anchored at ſixteen fathom water, near a ſmall rocky iſle, ſixteen leagues weſt from Port Angels; and half a mile from the Continent. The 28th, we continued our voyage with the land-wind; the ſea-wind blew hard in the afternoon, and, at night, we met with the other two canoes we had ſent out from Guatulco; they had been as far as the port of Acapulco; and, in their return, took in freſh water in ſpite of 150 Spaniards that would have oppoſed it. Thence they came into a ſalt-water lake, or pond, on the banks of which finding abundance of dry fiſh, they brought ſome aboard us. As we were juſt off this lake, we

ſent twelve men in a canoe for more fiſh. The entrance of the lake is cloſely hemmed in with rocks on both ſides, that the paſſage betwixt them is not above a piſtol-ſhot over, but within the lake is a conſiderable compaſs. The Spaniards, being alarmed already, now ſeeing our canoes before the lake, poſted themſelves behind the rocks, and fired ſuch a volley of ſhot upon our canoe, at her entering into the pond, that they wounded five of our men: however, our people rowed forward into the lagune, or pond, out of gun-ſhot, where they ſtaid two days and three nights, not daring to repaſs the ſame way they came: at laſt captain Townley, who lay nearer to the ſhore than we, hearing the firing of ſome guns that way, manned one of the canoes, and beating the Spaniards from the rocks, opened them a free paſſage; ſo that they returned aboard October 31. This lagune is in 16° 40′ north latitude.

November 2, we paſſed by the rock of Algatroſs; the land near it is high, woody, and mountainous in the country; ſix miles to the weſt of the ſaid rock, lie ſeven or eight white cliffs to the ſouth by weſt, whereof a large ſhole runs out five miles at ſea. Two leagues to the weſt of theſe cliffs is an handſome river, having a ſmall iſle at its entrance: the eaſt channel is ſhallow and ſandy, but that to the weſt will admit of canoes. The 3d, we came to an anchor oppoſite to this river, one mile and an half to ſhore, at fourteen fathoms. The Spaniards having caſt up an intrenchment along the weſt channel, defended by 200 ſoldiers, we landed our men, and forced them thence with little oppoſition: we found here a good quantity of ſalt, deſigned for the ſalting the fiſh they take in the lake; but we ſaw no nets, hooks, or lines, nor any bark, canoe, or boat. Marching three leagues into the country, we took a Mulatto priſoner, who informed us, that lately there was a ſtout ſhip come from Lima to Acapulco: captain Townley ſtanding in need of a better ſhip than that which he poſſeſſed, it was agreed, though not without

out ſome oppoſition from captain Swan, to fetch the ſaid ſhip out of that harbour. The 5th we continued coaſting to the weſt toward Acapulco: the 7th, twelve leagues from the ſhore we ſaw the high land of Acapulco, very remarkable for a round hill betwixt two other hills; the weſtermoſt being the largeſt and higheſt, with two hillocks on the top; but the eaſtermoſt is higher and more peaked than the middlemoſt. The port of Acapulco is ſo large and convenient, as to be able to contain ſome hundreds of ſhips without danger. Acroſs the entrance of the harbour is a low iſle, one mile and a half long, and half a mile broad, ſtretching from eaſt to weſt. At each end is a deep channel for the entrance of their ſhips, and their coming out, provided they enter with the ſea-wind, and come out with the land-wind, and theſe blow at ſtated times of the day or night. The channel at the weſt end is narrow, but ſo deep, that there is no anchorage: through this the ſhips come in from Manilla, but the ſhips from Lima paſs through the ſouth-weſt channel. The harbour runs in eight miles to the north; then, cloſing up in a narrow channel, goes a mile farther to the weſt. At the entrance of this channel, on the north-weſt ſide, juſt by the ſea-ſide, ſtands the town of Acapulco, near which is a platform with a good number of guns; and over-againſt the town, on the eaſt ſide, ſtands a ſtrong caſtle, defended by no leſs than forty great guns; ſhips commonly ride within reach of this caſtle, at the bottom of the harbour. Captain Townley went with 140 men, in twelve canoes, to fetch out the Lima ſhip; but by force of weather, was forced into Port Marquis, a good harbour, a league eaſt of the port of Acapulco: here they ſtaid all day, and the next night rowed ſoftly to Acapulco, where they found the ſhip riding at anchor 100 yards from the caſtle and platform; ſo that, finding it impoſſible to carry her off, he returned much diſſatisfied. The 11th, we ſailed farther to the weſt, with the land-wind at north-eaſt.

As the ſea-winds are here at ſouth-weſt, we ſailed along a ſandy bay, twenty leagues in length, where there was good anchorage two miles from the ſhore; but the ſea-waves fell with ſuch violence againſt it, that there is no ſafe landing-place. Near the ſea-ſide the grounds are low, and abound with trees, eſpecially with ſpreading palm-trees, which are ſometimes twenty or thirty feet high, but no bigger than an ordinary aſh. The country is intermixed with many ſmall hills, which are, for the moſt part, barren; but the valleys very fertile. At the weſt end of this bay, jets out into the ſea the hill of Petaplan, at 17° 20′ north latitude, being a round point, that appears like an iſle at ſea. A little farther to the weſt, is a little knot of round hills: we entered betwixt theſe and the point, where we anchored at the north weſt ſide of the hill, at eleven fathom water. Here we ſent 170 men aſhore; who, marching fourteen miles into the country, came to a wretched Indian village, left by the inhabitants; ſo that we met with nobody but a mulatto woman, with four ſmall children: being brought aboard, ſhe declared, that a caravan of mules, laden with flour and other goods, deſigned for Acapulco, had ſtopt their journey on the road to the weſt of this village. So we ſailed farther to the weſt the 18th, about two leagues, to a place called Chequetan, a pretty good harbour, having the conveniency of a freſh-water river, and abundance of wood: we landed ninety-five men the 9th, in ſix canoes, having the mulatto woman for their guide, at Eſtapa, a league weſt of Chequetan: Hence they were carried by their guide through a pathleſs wood, by a river-ſide, into a plain, near which, in a farm-houſe, they found the caravan, conſiſting of ſixty mules, laden with flour, chocolate, cheeſes, and earthen-ware; all this they carried, except the earthen veſſels, with ſome beef they had killed, and brought to their canoes, and thence to our ſhips. Captain Swan went afterwards aſhore, and

and killed eighteen cows more without the leaſt oppoſition. The country is woody, but fertile, and watered with many rivers and rivulets.

The 21ſt, we ſailed with the land-wind, which is at north here, and the ſea-wind at weſt ſouth-weſt, coaſting along to the weſt. At firſt the land appears with ragged hills; but, farther to the weſt, with fruitful valleys betwixt them. The 25th, we paſſed by an high hill, divided into peaks, at 18° 8′ north latitude: the Spaniards ſay, there ſtands a town, called the Cupan, not far from it, but we could not find the way to it. The 26th, 200 men were ſent to endeavour to find out the city of Colima, a rich place; but, though they rowed twenty leagues along the ſhore, they could not meet with any place to land in, and ſaw not the leaſt ſign of any inhabitants. At two places they ſaw two horſemen, and our men followed them, but loſt the track in the woods; ſo we returned the 28th on board; and, ſoon after, the Volcano, or burning mountain, of Colima, very remarkable for its height, at 18° 36′ north latitude, ſix leagues from the ſea-ſide, appeared, with two high points, from each of which iſſues always either fire or ſmoke. The valley, in which it ſtands, bears the name of the mountain, as does the adjacent town, the chief city of all the country. If we may credit the Spaniards, it is a moſt delightful and fertile valley, abounding in cocoas, corn, and plantains, being ten or twelve leagues wide to the ſea, and ſtretching a great way into the country; but there is no landing-place near it, occaſioned by the impetuoſity of the waters; for, about two leagues from the eaſt ſide, is low woody ground, and, at the end, is a deep river, which diſembogues into the ſea; but, by reaſon of a land-bank at the mouth, there is no entrance, even for canoes. The 29th, 200 men were ſent again, to try whether they could find any path or track leading to the town of Sallagua, ſeated, as the Spaniards report, at the weſt end of the bay of

the valley of Colima; but, the waves running ſo high there was no landing, they returned aboard the 30th.

December 1, we came in ſight of the port of Sallagua at 18° 52′: It is a bay, parted by a rocky point about the middle; ſo that it appears like two diſtinct harbours, in either of which is ſafe anchorage at ten or twelve fathom water, though the weſt harbour is the beſt, having, beſide this, the conveniency of a freſh-water rivulet falling into the ſea. We ſaw a good number of armed Spaniards, to whom we gave a viſit, the next morning, with 200 of our beſt men; but the foot never ſtood one charge, and the horſe ſoon followed them: in the purſuit, our men, lighting upon a broad road, leading through a woody and rocky country, followed it for four leagues; but, finding not the leaſt footſteps of any inhabitants, they turned back, and in their way took two ſtraggling mulattoes, who aſſured them, that the broad road led to the city of Oarrah, four long days journey from hence, and that theſe men were ſent from that city to ſecure the ſhip from Manilla, that was to ſet paſſengers aſhore there. The Spaniſh maps place the town of Sallagua hereabouts, but we could ſee no ſigns of it. December 6, we ſailed again, coaſting to the weſt towards Cape Corientes, in hopes of meeting thereabout with the ſhip expected from the Philippines. The ſea-winds are here north-weſt, and the land-wind at north; the land indifferent high, ſprinkled with many ragged points, and woody. Here I was afflicted with the dropſy, and ſo were many of our men: this being a common diſeaſe on this coaſt, the natives pretend to cure it with the ſtone or cod of an alligator (of which they have four, viz. one near each leg within the fleſh) beaten to powder; but we had not the good fortune to meet with any of theſe creatures, though they are ſometimes found hereabouts. Betwixt Sallagua and Cape Corientes are divers good ports we did not touch at.

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As we approached the cape, it appeared with many white cliffs, and, deeper into the country, with peaked hills; to the weſt of theſe runs a ridge of mountains, beginning with an high ſteep mountain at the eaſt end, with three peaks, reſembling a crown; whence the Spaniards called it Coronada, the crown land; but at the weſt end it terminates in an eaſy deſcent. The 11th, we were in ſight of Cape Corientes, bearing north by weſt, and the Coronada to the north. This cape is pretty high, very ſteep and rocky towards the ſea, but flat on the top, and covered with trees; it is at 20° 28′ north latitude: I found its longitude from Teneriff 23° 56′, keeping thereby to the weſt, according to our courſe; purſuant to which computation it is, from the Lizard in England, 121° 41′, and the difference of time eight hours ſix minutes. The ſhip from the Philippines being obliged to make this point in her voyage homewards, we took our ſtations with our four ſail, ſo as that we judged we could not well miſs the ſhips: but, as we wanted proviſions, fifty or ſixty men were ſent in a bark to the weſt of the cape to get ſome: they returned the 17th without any purchaſe, not being able to get about the cape, the wind being generally northweſt and ſouth-weſt on this coaſt; however, they left four canoes, manned with forty-ſix men, behind, who intended to row to the weſt. The 18th, we ſailed to the iſles of Chametly, eighteen leagues to the eaſt of Cape Corientes: They are five low, ſmall, and woody iſles, ſurrounded with rocks, and lying in form of an half-moon, within a mile from that ſhore, betwixt which and theſe iſles, there is ſafe anchorage. They are inhabited by fiſhermen, ſervants to ſome of the inhabitants of the city of Purification, a conſiderable place, fourteen leagues up in the country. The 20th, we entered on the ſouth-eaſt ſide, and anchored betwixt the iſles and the continent; we found here freſh water, wood, and rock-fiſh in great plenty. The 21ſt, ſixty of our men, under

under captain Townley, were ſent ſeven or eight leagues to the weſt, to ſurpriſe an Indian village.

The 24th, the four canoes, left thereabout by captain Townley's bark, returned to us near the cape, having got beyond it by the help of their oars, and landed in the valley of Valderas, or Val d'Iris, the Valley of Flags, lying at the bottom of a deep bay, incloſed between Cape Corientes on the ſouth-eaſt, and the point Pontique on the north-weſt. The breadth of the valley is three leagues; the ſandy bay is level to the ſea, and affords a good landing-place. In the midſt is a good freſh-water river, navigable with boats; but at the latter end of the dry ſeaſon, viz. in February, March, and April, it becomes brackiſh. On the land-ſide, this valley is bounded by a green hill, which, by its eaſy deſcent in the valley, affords a delightful proſpect; as do the wide-ſpread paſtures, ſtored with cattle, the pleaſant groves of guavas, orange, and lime-trees, which grow wild here in vaſt numbers. In this delightful valley we landed thirty-ſeven men, who, advancing three miles into the country, were attacked by 150 Spaniards, horſe and foot: by good fortune there was an adjacent wood, which afforded an happy retreat to our men, who from thence fired ſo furiouſly upon the Spaniards, that they killed their leader, and ſeventeen troopers, beſides many wounded, with the loſs only of four men, and two wounded: This made the enemy retreat; however, had the foot ſeconded the horſe, ſcarce one of our men could have eſcaped. The 28th, captain Townley returned aboard with forty buſhels of maiz, which he had taken in an Indian village to the eaſt of Cape Corientes, five leagues in the country. We continued cruiſing off this cape till the firſt of January, when we ſailed for the valley of Valderas, to provide ourſelves with ſome beef: at night we anchored at ſixty fathom water, a mile from the ſhore.

We continued here till the 7th, and landed 240 men (50 whereof were conſtantly employed to watch the

the motions of the Spaniards:) we killed and ſalted as much beef as would ſerve us two months; and, had we not wanted ſalt, we might have had much more. By this time our hopes of meeting with the Manilla ſhip being quite vaniſhed, we concluded, that, whilſt we had been employed in looking for proviſion aſhore ſhe had given us the ſlip to the eaſt; which proved true, according to the account we had afterward by ſeveral priſoners. The loſs of ſo great and rich a prize muſt chiefly be attributed to the wilfulneſs of captain Townley, who would needs attempt the taking of the Lima ſhip in the harbour of Acapulco, when, at the ſame time, we ought to have provided ourſelves, as we might then have done, with beef and maiz for ſuch an enterprize, which whilſt we were forced to ſeek, we loſt this ſhip; whereas, had we not wanted neceſſaries, we might have gone even as far as Cape Lucas, in California, where Sir Thomas Cavendiſh formerly took one of theſe Manilla ſhips. Hitherto we had a double deſign in view; firſt, the taking of the Manilla ſhip; ſecondly, the ſearch after rich towns and mines near this coaſt, not knowing that the wealth hereabouts lies all in the inland country; but now, finding ourſelves quite deceived in our hopes, we parted, captain Townley going back to the eaſt, and we, in captain Swan's ſhip, to the weſt.

January 7, we ſailed from this valley, the land-wind being at north-weſt, and at night paſſed by Pontique, the weſt point of the Valley of Valderas, ten leagues from Cape Corientes, at 20° 50′ north latitude. A league beyond it, to the weſt, lie two little iſles, called the Pontiques: beyond thoſe, the ſhore runs ragged to the north for eighteen leagues. The 14th, we came to anchor in a channel betwixt a ſmall, white, rocky iſle and the continent, at fourteen fathom, at 21° 15′. The iſle is three leagues from the main; we anchored one league from it. From this iſland the land runs in north, making a ſandy bay: We anchored one league from the continent,

nent, but there is no landing. We found the land-wind all along here at north-eaſt, and the ſea-wind at north-weſt.

The 20th, we anchored one league on the eaſt ſide of the iſles of Chametly, (different from the before-mentioned) being a knot of ſix ſmall iſles at 23° 11′, a little to the ſouth of the tropic of Cancer, three leagues from the continent: one or two of them only have ſome ſandy creeks to the ſea-ſide, and produce a certain fruit, called Penguins: theſe are of two ſorts, red and yellow; the laſt grows on a ſtem, of the thickneſs of a man's arm, a foot from the ground, with leaves of half a foot long, and one inch broad, edged with prickles: the fruit grows juſt at the top of the ſtalk in cluſters; they are round, and of the bigneſs of an hen's egg: the rind is pretty thick, and the pulp full of black ſeeds, of a delightful taſte. The red penguin is no bigger than an onion, but of the ſhape of a nine-pin; it does not grow on a ſtalk, but immediately out of the ground, ſtanding upright, ſometimes ſixty or ſeventy in a cluſter, being encompaſſed with prickly leaves of one foot and an half, or two feet long.

Captain Swan went with 100 men to the north, to find out the river Cullacan, ſuppoſed to lie at 24° north latitude, in the province of Cullacan, with a fair rich town upon its banks: but, though they had rowed above thirty leagues, they could find no river, neither was there any ſafe landing-place. Seven leagues north north-weſt from the iſles of Chametly is a lake, with a narrow entrance, at 23° 30′, called Rio de Sall by the Spaniards, it having water enough for canoes to enter. Our men landed on the weſt ſide, and took ſome maiz at an adjacent farm-houſe, and, at another landing, an Indian, who informed us, that five leagues thence there was an Indian town: ſo our men marched toward it, and, coming near the place, were encountered by a good body of Spaniards and Indians; but theſe being beaten

beaten back after the firſt charge, they entered the town, where they found only two or three wounded Indians, who told them, that the town was called Maſſactan, and that five leagues hence there were two rich gold mines. We ſtaid here till the 2d of February, when eighty men were ſent, and landed in the River Roſario, about three leagues from the ſea. They came to a pretty little town, of the ſame name, where the priſoners aſſured them, that the beforementioned mines were not above two leagues from thence; but, as we had preſent occaſion for proviſions, we carried aboard ninety buſhels of maiz, without ſearching after the mines. The 3d, we anchored againſt the mouth of the river Roſario, one league from the ſhore, in ſeven fathom, at 22° 15′ north latitude. But as this ſmall quantity of proviſions was not likely to do our buſineſs for our intended voyage, we landed, the 8th, forty men, to ſeek the river Oletta, ſuppoſed to lie to the eaſt of the river Roſario; but they returning without any booty, or without being able to find it, we reſolved to go on the eaſt, to the river of St. Iago, where we anchored the 11th, two miles from the ſhore, in ſeventeen fathom water, ſoft ouſy ground, three leagues from the white high rock of Maxentelbo, bearing north north-weſt, as the high hill Zeliſco bore ſouth-eaſt of us.

The river of St. Jago, one of the moſt conſiderable on this coaſt, lies in 22° 15′. It has ten feet water on the bar at low-water: its breadth, at the entrance, is about half a mile; but it is broader within, three or four rivers diſcharging themſelves into it there: the water is brackiſh; but, near the mouth, on the ſandy ſhore, you may dig freſh water at three or four feet. Captain Swan ſent out ſeventy men to look for a town, the country having a fair proſpect. After they had rowed up and down two days, they landed in a corn field, where, while they were buſy in gathering the maiz, they ſeized an Indian, who told

told them, that four leagues farther there was a town called Sta Pecaque. They were no ſooner come on board, but captain Swan, with 140 men, went in eight canoes five leagues up the river, which was thereabout not above a piſtol ſhot wide, with high banks; and, landing his men, marched through fertile plains and woods for three or four hours: at their approach, the Spaniards quitted the place; ſo we entered it without oppoſition.

The town of Sta Pecaque is ſeated on the ſide of a wood, in a ſpacious plain. It is not very large, but neatly built, with a ſquare market-place in the middle, as moſt Spaniſh towns are, and has two churches. There are ſilver mines five or ſix leagues from this town: the ore whereof is carried from this place by mules to Compoſtella, where it is refined. Compoſtella is the capital of this part of Mexico, twenty-one leagues diſtant from Pecaque, inhabited by about 70 white families, and 5 or 600 Mulattoes and Indians. As our men found plenty of maiz, ſugar, ſalt, and ſalt-fiſh here, captain Swan ordered one half of them to carry proviſions aboard, whilſt the other took care of the town: this they did by turns, having got ſome horſes to eaſe them in their labour. Thus they continued for two days; but, the 19th, captain Swan, being informed by a priſoner, that 1000 armed men had lately marched from St. Iago (a rich town upon the river, three leagues thence) to attack our men, ordered his people to get all the horſes they could, and to march all together, with what proviſions they could carry, to their canoes; but they refuſing to obey him, till all the proviſions could be carried on board, he was forced to let one half of them go on with 54 horſes; but they had not marched a mile, before the Spaniards, lying in ambuſh, attacked and killed them all upon the ſpot: captain Swan marched to their relief, but came too late, being all ſlain and ſtript, though, at the ſame time, they never attempted to engage him, having, queſtionleſs,

queſtionleſs, paid pretty dear for their victory. Captain Swan being returned aboard with the reſt of his men, with what proviſions they had got, it was reſolved to ſail to Cape St. Lucas, on California, in hopes of a commerce with the Indians there, and, conſequently, in the lake of California. This lake is properly a channel, or part of the ſea, betwixt the iſle and the continent; but either not much known by the Spaniards, or elſe concealed by them, for fear that the other European nations ſhould find out that way to the mines of New Mexico; for they vary conſiderably about it in their charts; ſome make it an iſle, others join it to the continent, but not one of them gives any account of the tides, the depth, or harbours, in or near this lake; whereas their hydrographical maps deſcribe the coaſts towards Aſia, on the weſt ſide of the iſle from Cape St. Lucas to 40° north. New Mexico, according to the report of the Spaniards, and ſome Engliſh priſoners there, lies near fifty leagues north-weſt from Old Mexico, where the richeſt mines of all this country are ſuppoſed to be; though there are, queſtionleſs, ſome alſo in other parts hereabout, as well as on the continent, near the main-land of California; though, as the Spaniards have mines enough to manage, they have not taken the pains to diſcover them; and the vaſt diſtance of this country has, no doubt, been the occaſion, that no diſcoveries have been made by others, or are like to be made, unleſs a nearer way thither could be found, I mean by the north-weſt.

I am not ignorant, that divers unſucceſsful attempts have been formed for the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage: the reaſon whereof I attribute to their ſearching for the paſſage at the beginning through Davis's or Hudſon's bay; whereas, in my opinion, the ſearch ought to have been begun in the South Seas, and thence along by California, and ſo a paſſage made back into the Weſt Seas. The ſame rule might be obſerved in diſcovering the north-eaſt paſſage, viz.

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to winter about Japan, Corea, and the north-eaſt part of China, and ſo take the advantage of the approaching Spring and Summer to go along the coaſt of Tartary, whence you may have time enough to reach Archangel, or ſome other port on theſe coaſts. From hence we ſailed the 21ſt towards California, with a north-weſt and weſt north-weſt wind. After we came paſt the iſles of St. Maria, we had ſtrong winds at north north-weſt, and at north, the uſual trade-wind, and conſequently loſt ground till February 6; ſo that the 7th we were forced to the eaſt again, to the Marias, where we anchored the 7th, at the eaſt end of the middlemoſt of theſe iſles, in eight fathom, good clear ſand. This iſle we call Prince George's Iſle. The iſles called Marias are three iſlands, ſtretching north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt fourteen leagues of an indifferent height, ſtony, barren, and uninhabited, at 12° 40′ north latitude, forty leagues diſtant from Cape St. Lucas on California, bearing eaſt ſouth-eaſt, and twenty leagues from Cape Corientes, bearing upon the ſame points of the compaſs with Cape St. Lucas. They produce ſome Cedars, and, near the ſea-ſide, a green prickly plant, with leaves not unlike the penguin-leaf, and a root like that of the ſempervive, but much longer. The Indians of California have a great part of their ſubſiſtence from theſe roots. We baked and eat ſome of them, and found them to taſte like the Engliſh burdock boiled. I had been long ſick of the dropſy, ſo I was laid in the ſand, and covered up to the head for half an hour. I ſweated exceedingly, and, I believe, with good effect; for I began to mend ſoon after.

We remained here careening till the 26th; but as there is no freſh water to be gotten here in the dry ſeaſon, we were forced to ſail to the valley of Valderas, where we anchored the 28th, near the mouth of the before-mentioned river; which being alſo brackiſh at this time, we ſailed three leagues nearer to the

Cape

Cape Corientes, and anchored by a ſmall round iſle, half a mile from the ſhore, four leagues to the north of the cape. The rivulet where we filled our water, is on the continent, juſt oppoſite to the iſle. Being by this time ſufficiently convinced of our miſtake concerning the riches of this coaſt, and the probability of finding ſome ſea-ports worth our taking, founded upon an erroneous opinion we had conceived, that the commerce of this country was carried on by ſea, whereas it is entirely managed by land, by the help of mules, we were the ſooner prevailed upon to try our fortune in the Eaſt Indies.

Our men, being encouraged with the hopes of better ſucceſs for the future, and through the perſuaſions of captain Swan, ſailed from cape Corientes March 31. In all this voyage, we ſaw neither fiſh nor fowl, except once, being then, according to my account, 4975 miles weſt from cape Corientes, in the kingdom of Mexico, when we ſaw a vaſt number of boobies, ſuppoſed to come from ſome rocks not far off, and mentioned in ſome hydrographical maps (but we did not ſee them.) After we had ſailed 1900 miles, our men began to murmur; but, being encouraged with fair words by captain Swan, we ſailed forward; and, ſeeing ſome clouds ſetting in the weſt, they were looked upon as the forerunners of land. May 20, at four o'clock in the afternoon, being in 12° 55′ north latitude, and ſteering weſt, we diſcovered, to our great joy, the iſle of Guam, at eight leagues diſtance. Guam is one of the Ladrone iſles, under the Spaniſh juriſdiction. Its length is twelve leagues, and its breadth four, lying north and ſouth, defended by a ſmall fort, with ſix guns, and a garriſon of thirty ſoldiers, under a Spaniſh governor, for the conveniency of the Philippine ſhips, that touch here for refreſhments in their voyage from Acapulco to Manilla. The ſoil is indifferently fruitful, producing rice, pine-apples, water-melons, muſk-melons, oranges, limes, cocoa-nuts, and a certain fruit called

the bread-fruit, growing on a tree as large as our apple-trees, with dark leaves. The fruit is round, and grows on the boughs, like apples, of the bigneſs of a good penny-loaf. When ripe, it turns yellow, ſoft, and ſweet; but the natives take it green, and bake it in an oven, till the rind is black. This they ſcrape off, and eat the inſide, which is ſoft and white, like the inſide of new baked bread, having neither ſeed nor ſtone; but if it is kept above twenty-four hours it is harſh. As this fruit is in ſeaſon eight months in the year, the natives feed upon no other ſort of bread during that time. They told us, that all the Ladrone iſles had plenty of it. I never heard of it in any other place. May 31, we came to an anchor on the weſt ſide of this iſle, near the middle of it, one mile from the ſhore, there being no anchoring on the eaſt ſide, by reaſon of the trade-wind, which forces the waves with great violence againſt it on that ſide. The natives are ſtrong limbed, copper-coloured, with long black hair, ſmall eyes, high noſes, thick lips, very white teeth, and of a ſtern countenance, though they were very affable to us. The air is accounted exceeding wholſome, except in the wet ſeaſon betwixt June and October. Theſe Indians inhabit in ſmall villages on the weſt ſide near the ſhore, and have certain prieſts to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian religion. By means of ſome preſents ſent to the governor, and an obliging letter from captain Swan, we obtained good ſtore of hogs, cocoa-nuts, rice, wheaten biſcuits, and other refreſhments, beſides fifty pounds of Manilla tobacco; and, being informed by one of the friers, that the iſle of Mindanao, one of the Philippine iſlands, inhabited by Mahomedans, abounded with proviſions, we ſailed June 2, with a ſtrong eaſt wind, and arrived the 21 at the iſle of St. John, one of the Philippine iſlands.

The Philippines are a range of large iſlands, reaching from 5° north latitude to 19°, and to 16° longitude.

gitude. The chief of them is Luconia, where Magellan was killed with a poiſoned arrow, and is now entirely under the Spaniſh ſubjection. Their capital city here is Manilla, a large town and ſea-port, ſeated at the ſouth-eaſt end, oppoſite to the iſle of Mindora, a place of great ſtrength, and vaſt trade, becauſe the two great ſhips from Acapulco fetch thence vaſt quantities of India commodities, brought thither by the Chineſe and Portugueſe, and ſometimes alſo by the Engliſh of Fort St. George, though by ſtealth, the Spaniſh allowing no commerce here to the Engliſh or Dutch, for fear they ſhould diſcover both their weakneſs, and the riches of thoſe iſles, which abound in gold.

To the ſouth of Luconia are twelve or fourteen other large iſles (beſides an infinite number of leſſer ones) inhabited by Spaniards; but the two ſouthermoſt, viz. that of St. John and Mindanao, are the only ones not ſubject to the Spaniſh juriſdiction. The iſle of St. John lies between 7° and 8° north latitude, on the eaſt ſide of Mindanao, about four leagues from it. Its length, from north north-weſt to ſouth ſouth-eaſt, is thirty-eight leagues, and its breadth about the middle twenty-four leagues. The ſoil is very fat and fertile. Mindanao is, next to Luconia, the largeſt of all the Philippine iſlands, its length being ſixty leagues, and its breadth forty or fifty, the ſouth end at 5° north latitude, and the north-weſt end reaching almoſt to 8° north latitude. The ſoil is generally fat; and the ſtony hills produce many ſorts of trees, moſt of which are not known among us. The vallies are watered with freſh brooks and rivulets, and ſtored with divers ſorts of evergreen trees and variety of fruits; but, above all the reſt, a ſort of trees, which grow wild in groves ſeveral miles long, called the libby-tree by the natives, which furniſhes the Sago. The poor people feed upon it inſtead of bread here for three or four months in the year.

The libby-tree is not unlike the cabbage-tree; the bark and wood hard, full of a white pith, like that of the elder-tree. They cut down the tree, and, ſplitting it in the middle, take out the pith, which they ſtamp or beat well in a mortar or trough; which done, they put it in a cloth, and, pouring water upon it, ſtir it well, till the water carries alſo the ſubſtance with it through the cloth into the trough; this, after it is well ſettled, they ſeparate from the water (by drawing it off) and bake it into cakes. The ſago, tranſported hence into other parts of the Eaſt Indies, is dried into ſmall pieces, like comfits, and uſed, with milk of almonds, as a good remedy againſt fluxes, being very aſtringent. We ſhall only add, that the nutmegs here are extremely large and good; but they do not care to propagate them, for fear the Dutch, who monopolize the trade of the ſpice iſlands, ſhould be induced to give them a viſit.

This iſle affords both wild and tame beaſts. Of tame fowls they have only ducks and hens; but, of the wild kind, pigeons, parrots, paraquetoes, turtle-doves, bats as big as our kites; and of ſmall birds an infinite number. Their chief fiſh are bonetoes, ſnooks, cavalies, bremes, mullets, and ſea tortoiſes. Neither do they want harbours, creeks, and rivers. The climate of Mindanao is not ſo exceſſive hot, eſpecially near the ſea-ſide, conſidering its ſituation near the line; ſince the ſea-breezes cool the air by day, as the land-winds do at night. The wind blows from the eaſt from October to May, when it blows weſt to October again. Theſe weſt winds produce the wet ſeaſon, which is heavieſt in July and Auguſt, and begins to remit, by degrees, in September, and ceaſes in October, when the eaſt wind brings fair weather till May. Though the inhabitants of the iſle of Mindanao are generally alike in colour, ſtature, and in their religion, (being Mahomedans) yet they differ in their language and government.

The

The Mindanyans, properly ſo called, are of low ſtature, with ſmall limbs, little heads, and ſtraight bodies; ſmall eyes, ſhort noſes, wide mouths, thin red lips, and black teeth, but ſound. Their hair is black and ſtraight; their complexion tawny, but ſomething brighter than that of other Indians. They are ingenious and nimble, but much addicted to idleneſs; civil and obliging to ſtrangers, but withal implacable when once diſobliged. Their cloathings are, a turban tied once round the head with cloth, the ends fringed or laced, tied in a knot, and hanging down. They wear alſo breeches, and frocks over them; but neither ſtockings nor ſhoes. The women tie their black and long hair together in a knot, hanging down behind. They are ſmaller-featured than the men, and have very little feet. Their garments are only a piece of cloth ſewed together at both ends, and a frock reaching a little below the waiſt.

One peculiar cuſtom they have in the city of Mindanao, that as ſoon as any ſtrangers arrive, the men of Mindanao come aboard, to invite them to their houſes, where they are ſure to inquire, whether any of them have a mind for a Pagally, or innocent female friend. The ſtrangers, in civility, are obliged to accept the offer made them of ſuch a friend, and to ſhew their gratitude by a ſmall preſent, as the continuance of the ſame friendſhip muſt be purchaſed by ſome other trifles; in return for which, they have the liberty to eat, drink, and ſleep in their friends houſes for their money. They have no other entertainment there gratis, except a little tobacco and betel, a mean way of begging, though practiſed even among the richeſt of the place.

The capital of this iſle bears the ſame name with the iſland, and is ſeated on the ſouth ſide, two miles from the ſea, upon the bank of a ſmall river, in 7° 20′ north latitude. Their houſes are built upon poſts, from fourteen to twenty feet high, having only one floor, but many rooms or partitions. The ſul-

tan's houſe reſts upon 150 great poſts, and was much higher than the reſt, with great broad ſtairs leading up to it. In the hall ſtood twenty pieces of iron cannon, placed on field carriages. The general, and other great men, have alſo ſome guns in their houſes, the floors whereof are generally well matted, they uſing no chairs, but ſitting croſs-legged. Their ordinary food here is rice, ſago, and ſome ſmall fiſh; but the better ſort eat buffaloes and fowl, though a great deal of rice with them.

The chief trades in this city are goldſmiths, blackſmiths, carpenters, and ſhipwrights; for they build good ſhips both for trade and war. Their chief commodities exported, are gold, bees-wax, and tobacco. The two firſt they purchaſe from the mountaineers; and the laſt grows all over the iſle in vaſt plenty. Theſe they exchange for calicoes, muſlins, and China ſilks. The Mindanao tobacco is reckoned no way inferior to that of Manilla; yet you may buy ten or twelve pounds of it for a rial. They have many wives; but I never could learn their marriage-ceremonies, except that they feaſt their friends for the moſt part of the night. They are under the government of a ſultan, who is poor enough; but ſo abſolute, that he even commands every private ſubject's purſe at pleaſure. He was between fifty and ſixty years old, and had twenty nine concubines, beſides his queen. When he goes abroad, he is carried on a couch upon four mens ſhoulders, attended by a guard of eight or ten men. He has a brother called Raja Laut, who is both chief miniſter and general, a ſhrewd man, of good converſation, who both ſpeaks and writes Spaniſh very well. In their wars they make uſe of ſwords, lances, and hand-creſſets, a weapon much like a bayonet, which the greateſt to the meaneſt always wear about them. They never fight any pitched battle in the field, but make ſmall wooden forts, defended by guns, wherein they encamp, and endeavour to

ſurprize

ſurprize one another by ſmall parties; and they neither give nor take quarter.

We came to anchor at the north eaſt ſide of the iſle; but, underſtanding by ſome of the natives, that the city of Mindanao was on the weſt ſide, we ſteered to the ſouth-eaſt with a ſouth-weſt wind. We arrived July 18th, at the entrance of the river Mindanao, in 6° 22′ north latitude, and 23° 12′ longitude weſt from the Lizard of England, where we anchored in fifteen fathom water, clear hard ſand, two miles from the ſhore.

Soon after, Raja Laut, and one of the ſultan's ſons, came aboard us, and demanded in Spaniſh, who we were; and, being told that we were Engliſh, they aſked, whether we were come to ſettle among them, of which they had had ſome promiſe before, and were now in hopes to ſee it effected, and to ſerve them for a protection againſt the Dutch, whom they very much dreaded. Truly, had we conſidered the matter, it would have been much for our advantage to have done ſo, conſidering the commodious ſituation of the iſle of Mindanao, betwixt the ſpice iſlands and the Philippines: neither did we want any thing requiſite for ſuch a ſettlement, being provided with all ſorts of artificers, as carpenters, bricklayers, ſhoemakers, taylors, &c. as alſo with convenient tools, arms, guns great and ſmall, and ammunition ſufficient for ſuch a beginning: and, notwithſtanding the great diſtance of this iſland from England, we needed not have been without hopes of ſeaſonable ſupplies thence. But to return to Raja Laut and his nephew: they invited captain Swan aſhore, and promiſed to furniſh him with what proviſions he wanted, deſiring, that, in the mean time, we ſhould ſecure our ſhip in the river, for fear of the approaching weſt winds; which captain Swan, after ſome deliberation, agreed to.

The tempeſtuous weather now approaching, the ſailors hauled the ſhip up the river, 50 or 60 fiſher-

men lending their aſſiſtance; after which, they moored her in a hole dug for that purpoſe, wherein ſhe was always a-float, and here many citizens came on board of her, who ſoon provided the men with Pagallys, and captain Swan being generally attended at dinner with his trumpets, Raja Laut was greatly delighted with the muſic.

During the wet ſeaſon, the city of Mindanao, which is a mile in length, and ſtretches along the bank of the river, was a perfect pond, and the floods frequently waſhed down large pieces of timber from the country, that would have endangered the veſſel, had not great care been taken to prevent it. As ſoon as the floods began to ſubſide, captain Swan hired a warehouſe, in which he depoſited his goods and ſails, in order to careen the ſhip, when it was ſurpriſing to ſee the multitude of worms that had eaten into her bottom, during her ſtay in this harbour. But having new ſheathed her, they ſteered out on the 10th of December, when they began to take in rice, and to fill their water. But the king's brother, who had his views in delaying the veſſel, conſtantly kept ſeveral of the men on ſhore, hunting of black cattle, under the pretence of ſtocking the ſhip with beef. However, in ten days, they met with only four cows, none of which they were able to run down.

At this time, captain Swan had ſome thoughts of quitting Mindanao, in order to take in a lading of ſpice, in a neighbouring iſland, which is ſince fallen into the hands of the Dutch. However, moſt of his men expected that he would have continued privateering, to which he had an utter averſion, though he carefully concealed it from his people.

The day after Chriſtmas-day, Raja Laut had a hunting match, in ſearch of black cattle, in which he was accompanied by five or ſix Engliſhmen, and all his wives: but in this hunting match they killed but three heifers. However, he and his company got

got drunk two or three times, with a pleaſant extract of rice.

At this time, one of the Engliſh ſailors happening accidentally to find captain Swan's journal, in which he had taken notice of the ſlighteſt offence of every ſailor on board, and was even laviſh of invectives againſt the whole crew in general, he ſhewed it to the reſt of his comrades, who, upon this, reſolved to depoſe captain Swan, which they accordingly did, chuſing Mr. Read captain in his room, and Mr. Teate, maſter; and leaving him with thirty-ſix men on ſhore, ſet ſail on the 14th of January, 1687, in order to cruize before Manilla.

February 3, we anchored in a bay on the weſt ſide of an iſland without a name, in 9° 15′, on the weſt ſide of the iſle of Sebo, in 18 fathom water, ouſy ground. Its length is eight or ten leagues. In the middle of this bay we ſaw a low, ſmall, woody iſle, haunted by a ſort of bats, of the bigneſs of a large fowl, their wings, when extended, being ſeven or eight feet long: every night we ſaw them, in vaſt ſwarms, take their flight towards the great iſle, and return to the little one in the morning.

We ſailed hence February 10, with a north wind, coaſting along the weſt ſide of the Philippine iſles. In our paſſage by Panga, (a large iſle inhabited by the Spaniards) we ſaw many fires, ſuppoſed to be lighted to give notice of our approach, it being rare to ſee a ſhip on this coaſt. The 18th, we came to an anchor at the north-weſt end of the iſle of Mindora, in ten fathom: it is a large iſle, the middle of it lying in 13° longitude. It ſtretches in length forty leagues north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt. A ſmall brook of water runs into the ſea near the place where we anchored, and we ſaw good ſtore of hogs and oxen, but they were ſo wild we could catch or kill none. Whilſt we were here, a canoe, with four Indians, came hither from Manilla, who told us, that the

the harbour of Manilla was ſeldom without twenty or thirty veſſels, Chineſe, Portugueſe, and Spaniards; and that if we had a mind to trade, (clandeſtinely) they would carry our letters to certain merchants there. The 21ſt, we ſailed again, and, the 23d, came to the ſouth-eaſt end of the iſle of Luconia. We took two Spaniſh barks from Pagaſſanam, a ſmall town on the north-eaſt of this iſle, bound to Manilla: one of theſe had goods aboard for the Acapulco ſhip.

The iſle of Luconia extends in length 6 or 7° of longitude, and its breadth, near the middle, ſixty leagues. The ſouth end is in 12° 30′, and the north end in 90° north latitude. It is ſurrounded by many other ſmall iſles, eſpecially at the north end. Mindora is the chief, and the neareſt to it, and imparts its name to a channel that runs between it and the iſle of Luconia, called the Streights of Mindora. The country is partly compoſed of large paſture plains, and partly of mountains. Theſe afford ſome gold, as the ſavannas or plains are well ſtored with buffaloes, bullocks, horſes, ſheep, goats, and hogs. The inhabitants, who live in little towns, are Indians, under the Spaniſh juriſdiction, and inſtructed in the Romiſh religion by Spaniſh prieſts.

Manilla is the chief, if not the only city of the iſle of Luconia, ſeated at the foot of a ridge of high hills fronting the harbour, near the ſouth-weſt point of the iſle, in 14° north latitude. It is defended by a ſtrong wall; the houſes are ſpacious, ſtrong, and covered with pantile; and the ſtreets large and regular, with a market-place in the midſt. They have many fair churches and convents. The harbour is very large. Beſides the two great Acapulco ſhips, they have abundance of ſmall veſſels of their own. The Chineſe have commonly thirty or forty junks or ſtout veſſels here: and the Portugueſe have alſo liberty of commerce in this iſle. A league on this

ſide

ſide the city is a ſtrong fort to defend the harbour, where the great ſhips lay at anchor.

The time of the year being too far ſpent for our purpoſe, we reſolved to ſail for Pulo Condore, a knot of ſmall iſles on the coaſt of Cambodia, and to return in May, to lie in wait for the Acapulco ſhip. Accordingly, February 26, we ſailed from Luconia. Coming to 14° north latitude, we ſteered ſouth by weſt for Pulo Condore; and, in our way thither, got ſight of the ſouth end of the Praſel ſholes, of three ſandy iſles, or large ſpots of ſands ſtanding juſt above the water, a mile from us. March 13, we came in ſight of Pulo Condore, or the iſle of Condore, and anchored the 14th on the north ſide of the iſle, in ten fathom, clean hard ſand, two miles from the ſhore. Pulo Condore is the chief of a knot of iſles, and the only inhabited one of them, in 8° 40′ north latitude, forty leagues ſouth by eaſt from the mouth of the river of Cambodia. Two of theſe iſles are pretty high and large, the reſt very ſmall. That I ſpeak of, is five leagues long, lying eaſt and weſt, and three miles broad, but in ſome places not a mile. The other large iſle is three miles long, ſtretching north and ſouth: betwixt thoſe two, at the weſt end of the largeſt, is a convenient harbour, the entrance on the north ſide, where theſe two iſles lie a mile aſunder. On the largeſt iſle grows a tall tree, the trunk three or four feet diameter, which the inhabitants cut horizontally half through, a foot from the ground; and then cutting the other part aſlope inwardly down, till it meets with the tranſverſe cut, thence diſtils a liquor into an hollow made in the ſemicircular ſtump; which, when boiled, becomes good tar; and, if boiled ſtill more, perfect pitch, and anſwers both uſes. Such a tree affords two quarts of juice every day for a month together, then dries up, and recovers again. Here are alſo mango-trees, the fruit whereof they pickle, while they are green, with ſalt, vinegar, and a little garlick. Grapes

grow

grow in this iſle on a ſtrait tree, of a foot diameter, in cluſters about the body of the tree, like the cocoas; they are both red and white, much like our grapes, and of a pleaſant taſte. This iſle alſo abounds in wild nutmeg-trees: theſe are of the bigneſs of our walnut-trees, and the fruit grows amongſt the boughs, like our walnuts. It is ſmaller than the true nutmeg, but grows like it, and is of the ſame ſhape, but without ſmell or taſte. Beſides hogs, guanoes, and lizards, theſe iſles have divers ſorts of birds, as parrots, parraquetoes, turtle-doves, pigeons, and wild cocks and hens. The ſea affords limpets, muſſels, and tortoiſes. They have many freſh-water brooks, running into the ſea for ten months in the year, and lie very conveniently for trade with Japan, China, Manilla, Tunquin, Cochinchina, &c.

The inhabitants of the iſle of Condore are originally Cochinchineſe, of a middle ſtature, but well-ſhaped, much darker than the Mindanyans; their hair is ſtraight and black, their eyes of the ſame colour, but ſmall; and ſo are their noſes, yet pretty high; their lips thin, with a little mouth, and white teeth. They are very civil, but poor, having no other employment but to gather the juice for tar, and draw ſome oil from the fat of the tortoiſe, which they tranſport to Cochinchina. They offer their women to all ſtrangers for a very ſmall matter; a cuſtom uſed alſo at Pegu, Siam, Cochinchina and Cambodia; in the Eaſt Indies, and on the coaſt of Guinea, in Africa, and alſo at Tunquin. They are Pagans, and worſhip chiefly the elephant and horſe, beſide other images of birds and fiſh. But I obſerved none of human ſhape.

March 15, we looked for a place to careen in; and, having met with one, we entered the ſame the 16th, where we ſtaid till the 6th of April, when we went hence to the place where we anchored before, on the north ſide of the great iſle, to fill freſh water; which being accompliſhed by the 21ſt, we ſailed again

again from Pulo Condore, our courſe weſt by ſouth, with an eaſt north-eaſt wind, for the bay of Siam. The 24th, we entered the bay of Siam, which is very deep; and went in among the iſles, at the bottom of the bay. In one of theſe we found a ſmall village, inhabited by fiſhermen, but no fiſh: ſo we turned back; but, being becalmed, did not return to Pulo Ubi till May 13, where we caſt anchor on the eaſt ſide, and were detained by tempeſts till the 20th. The 21ſt, we ſailed thence back for Pulo Condore, where we came to an anchor the 24th: here five or ſix of our men, going aboard a Malayan veſſel, were ſtabbed by the ſhip's crew.

June 4, being provided with fuel and freſh-water, we ſailed from Pulo Condore, with a ſouth weſt wind, intending to make Manilla; but the wind ſoon turning eaſt and ſouth-eaſt, and continuing ſo for ten days, we were forced to alter our courſe, and ſteer for the iſle of Prata, a ſmall low iſland, incloſed with rocks, in the way betwixt Canton (a Chineſe ſea-port) and Manilla, in 20° 4′ north latitude; but the eaſt winds continuing for five or ſix days longer with great violence, we ſaw ourſelves obliged to alter our reſolution once more, and to obey the wind, which brought us near the Chineſe ſhore the 25th of June, where we came to an anchor on the north-eaſt end of the iſle of St. John, lying on the ſea-coaſt of Quantung or Canton, in China, in 22° 30′ north latitude. The inhabitants live, for the moſt part, by cultivating their grounds, which produce rice. Whilſt we lay at anchor here, a Chineſe Junk lay near us: ſhe was flat both at the head and ſtern, with little huts on her deck of three feet high, covered with palmetto-trees. She had a large cabin with an altar, and lamp burning in it. The hold was divided into ſeveral partitions, each of them ſo tight, that, if a leak ſhould ſpring in one, the goods in the next would receive no damage. Every merchant has his particular room, where he ſtows his goods,

and

and ſometimes lodges in it himſelf. Theſe junks have no more than two maſts, viz. a main-maſt and fore-maſt: the laſt has a ſquare ſail and ſquare yard; but the main-maſt has a ſail narrow aloft like a ſloop's ſail. In fair weather they uſe alſo a top-ſail, which they hail down on the deck in foul weather, yard and all. The main-maſt of the biggeſt junks are as big as any of our third-rate men of war, but not pieced, being all of one tree.

As we ſaw the forerunners of an approaching tempeſt, we weighed anchor, not to want ſea-room. It was not long before we found our gueſs too true; for the next day, being the 4th of July, the wind coming to the north-eaſt, we were ſurpriſed by the moſt violent tempeſt I ever remember; which laſted, by intervals, till the 6th. We refitted our ſhip; but our men, being terrified to the higheſt degree by the laſt ſtorm, and dreading the approaching full-moon, reſolved to ſteer towards the Piſcadores, or Fiſher Iſles, in 23° north latitude.

Theſe are a good number of iſlands, lying betwixt the iſle of Formoſa, and the continent of China. Betwixt the two eaſtermoſt is a good harbour; and, on the weſt ſide of the eaſtermoſt, is a large town and fort, defended by a Tartar garriſon of about three hundred men. The houſes were low, but neatly built. On the iſland, on the weſt ſide of the harbour, near the ſea-ſide, we ſaw another ſmall town, inhabited by Chineſe; and moſt of the other iſles have ſome Chineſe (more or leſs) living in them. We came to an anchor in the harbour July 20, and, ſending our boat aſhore, were civilly received by the Tartarian governor, who ſent us ſome preſents, (among the reſt a heifer, the fineſt I ever eat in my life) but would not allow us either to trade there, or come aſhore on that iſle. In return for which Mr. Read (now our captain) ſent him a ſilver-hilted ſword, a carbine, and a gold chain.

We

We ſailed from hence the 29th with a ſouth-weſt wind, ſteering for certain iſlands we had pitched upon, that lie betwixt Formoſa and Luconia, being known by no other names than the Five Iſles. We ſailed by the ſouth-weſt end of Formoſa, a large iſle ſituated betwixt 21° 20′, and 25° 10′ north latitude, from ſouth to north. Its longitude is from 142° 5′ to 143° 16′ eaſt from the peak of Teneriff. It was formerly well inhabited by the Chineſe, and frequented by the Engliſh; but the Tartars have ſince ſpoiled the harbour, for fear the Chineſe ſhould fortify themſelves there. Auguſt 6, we came to an anchor on the eaſt ſide of the northermoſt of the Five Iſles in fifteen fathom water: they lay in 20° 20′ north latitude; and their longitude, according to the charts, is 141° 50′. Contrary to our expectations, we found, on the iſle near which we anchored, three or four large towns. The weſtermoſt iſle is the biggeſt: this the Dutch among us called the Prince of Orange Iſle, being ſeven or eight leagues long, and two broad, ſtretching north and ſouth. There are two more large iſles; the northermoſt we called Grafton Iſle: it ſtretches four leagues in length north and ſouth, and is one league and an half broad: unto the third great iſle we gave the name of Monmouth Iſle, lying to the ſouth of Grafton Iſle, three leagues long north and ſouth, and one broad: the other two iſles, lying eaſt and weſt, betwixt Monmouth and the ſouth end of Orange Iſle, are called the Baſhee, (from a certain liquor we drink there) and the Goat iſles.

Orange iſland is the largeſt, but uninhabited, being rocky and barren, and no anchorage near it. Monmouth and Grafton iſles are hilly, but well inhabited. The Goat and Baſhee iſles are flat and even, and the firſt has one town in it. The hills of all theſe iſles are rocky, but the vallies fertile in graſs, plantains, bananas, pine-apples, pompions, ſugar-canes, potatoes, and ſome cotton; and are well watered with

with brooks of freſh-water. They are alſo well ſtored with goats and hogs, but ſcarce any fowl, either wild or tame.

The natives are ſhort and thick, round-viſaged, with low foreheads, and thick eye-brows; their eyes of an hazel colour, and ſmall, but much bigger than the Chineſe; their noſes are both low and ſhort; their lip and mouth middle-ſized, with white teeth, and thick, black, lank hair, cut ſhort to their ears; their complexion is of a dark copper-colour. They go always bare-headed; and the greateſt part have no cloaths, but a clout about the middle: ſome have jackets of plantain-leaves, as rough as a bear-ſkin. The women have a ſhort petticoat of coarſe calico, (of their own making) which reaches a little below the knees. Both ſexes wear ear-rings made of a yellow metal, having the weight and colour of true gold, but ſomething paler: whether it were ſuch in effect or no, I am not able to ſay; for it looks of a fine colour at firſt, but afterwards fades; which made us ſuſpect it, and therefore our people did not purchaſe much of it. We obſerved the natives to beſmear it with red earth, and then, putting it into a quick fire till it was red-hot, brought it to its former colour again.

Their houſes are ſmall, and ſcarce five feet high. They inhabit in villages, built on the ſides of rocky hills, three or four rows one above another. Theſe rocky precipices are framed by nature into different degrees, or, as it were, deep ſteps or ſtories, upon each of which they build a row of their houſes, communicating together gradually, by ladders ſet from each of theſe rows up to one another in the middle of it; which if they remove, there is no coming at them. They are alſo very expert in building their boats, (for the men live moſtly by fiſhing) much like our Deal yauls. They have alſo larger veſſels, managed with twelve or fourteen oars, two men on one bank. They never kill any goats or hogs themſelves, but

but feed upon the guts or entrails; and their ſkins, which they broil, after they have ſinged the hair off. They make alſo a diſh of locuſts, which come at certain ſeaſons to devour their potatoes. They take them with nets, and broil or bake them in an earthen pan. This diſh eats well enough. Their ordinary drink is water; but, beſides this, they boil a ſort of liquor out of the juice of ſugar-canes, mixed with black-berries: this they put afterwards into jars, and let it work four or five days. After it is ſettled, it becomes clear, and affords a ſtrong and pleaſant liquor, in taſte and colour not unlike Engliſh beer. The natives call this liquor Baſhee; whence our crew gave this name to one of the iſles.

What language they ſpeak, I know not, as not having any affinity either with the Chineſe or Malayan languages. The only arms they uſe are lances, headed with iron; and they wear a kind of armour of a buffalo's hide, without any ſleeves, which reaches down below the knees, where it is three feet wide, and as ſtiff as a board, but cloſe about their ſhoulders. I could not perceive them worſhip any thing; neither ſaw I any idols, or any government or precedency among themſelves, except that the children were very reſpectful to their parents. However, it is likely, they have ſome ancient cuſtoms inſtead of laws; for we ſaw a young lad buried alive, as we ſuppoſed, for theft.

They have but one wife, and ſhe and the children are very obedient to the head of the family; the boys are educated to fiſhing, and the girls to work with their mothers in the plantations, which are in the vallies, where every man plants his own ground according to the bigneſs of his family. For the reſt, they are a ſort of civil quiet people, not only to ſtrangers, but alſo among themſelves; for all the time we were here, whilſt they came frequently aboard us, they uſed to exchange their yellow metal, their goats and fruit, for iron. During our ſtay here, we

had provided ourſelves with ſeventy or eighty fat hogs, and plenty of potatoes, for our intended voyage to the iſle of Manilla: but, September 25, being again ſurpriſed with a moſt violent tempeſt, which forced us out to the ſea, we were every moment in danger of being ſwallowed up by the waves till the 29th, when the fury of the winds being ſomewhat allayed, we made the beſt of our way back to the iſle, of which we got ſight the 30th, but could not come to an anchor in the ſame place where we were before, till the 1ſt of October. This laſt ſtorm ſo diſheartened our men, that they all reſolved to lay aſide their deſign of cruiſing before Manilla; but, by the perſuaſion of captain Read, and captain Teat the maſter, they reſolved to go to cape Comorin, and thence into the Red Sea. As the eaſtern Monſoon was at hand, our neareſt and beſt way had been to paſs through the ſtreight of Malacca; but captain Teat perſuaded them to go round on the eaſt ſide of the Philippine iſles, and ſo, keeping ſouth of the Spice iſles, to paſs into the Indian ocean, about the iſle of Timor.

We ſailed October 3, from the iſles to the ſouth, intending to paſs through the Spice iſlands: we ſailed on the eaſt ſide of Luconia, and the other Philippine iſlands, coaſting to the ſouth.

We arrived, November 9, at the iſland Celebes, where we anchored at the north-eaſt end. The iſle extends itſelf from north to ſouth, in 7° latitude, and in breadth 3°. It lies under the line, the north end at 1° 30′ north latitude, and the ſouth end at 5° 80′ ſouth latitude. At the ſouth end of the iſle is a gulph, eight leagues wide, and fifty long, running directly north into the country, having divers ſmall iſlands in the middle of it. Near the ſouth end, at the weſt ſide of the iſle, is ſeated Macaſſar, a rich and ſtrong town belonging to the Dutch. By reaſon of the ſtrong current ſetting to the Weſt, we had

much ado to get to the eaſt ſide of the iſle; and the 22d, being at 1° 20′ ſouth, we ſaw a large opening like a creek; and, ſix leagues to the ſouth of it, a range of large and ſmall iſles, and many ſhoals, betwixt which and the iſle of Celebes we paſſed, not without trouble, and came to an anchor half a mile from the great iſland, in eight fathom ſandy ground, in 1° 50′ ſouth latitude. We ſtaid there till the 29th, and the 30th ſteered away ſouth betwixt two ſhoals, at 3° ſouth latitude, ten leagues from the iſle of Celebes. Toward the evening, we ſaw two or three ſpouts: a ſpout is a piece of a cloud, hanging down, ſeemingly ſloping, and ſometimes bending like a bow, but never perpendicular; after which the ſea begins to foam, and you ſee the water move gently round, till, increaſing in a whirling motion, it flies upward, a hundred paces in circumference at the bottom, but leſſening gradually to the ſmallneſs of a ſpout, through which the ſea-water appears to be conveyed into the clouds, as is manifeſt by the increaſe of the bulk and blackneſs thereof: then you ſee immediately the cloud (which was immoveable before) drive along, and the ſpout keeping the ſame courſe for half an hour, till the ſucking is over, and then breaking off, all the water that was below the ſpout, or pendulous cloud, falls again into the ſea, with a terrible noiſe and claſhing; however, theſe ſpouts are more terrible than dangerous.

December 1, ſteering ſouth, with a ſouth ſouth-eaſt wind, at 3° 34′ ſouth latitude, we got ſight of the iſle of Bouton, about ten leagues ſouth-weſt of us: the 5th, we got cloſe to the north-weſt end of Bouton Iſle, but the harbour is at the eaſt ſide of it, in 4° 54′ ſouth latitude. This iſland ſtretches twenty-five leagues in length ſouth-weſt, and north-weſt four leagues from the ſouth-eaſt end of the iſle of Celebes; its breadth is ten leagues: within a league of the harbour, and half a mile from the ſea, is a long town

called Callaſuſung, ſeated on the top of a ſmall hill, in a pleaſant plain, incloſed with a walk of cocoa-trees, and about theſe with a ſtrong ſtone wall. The inhabitants are not unlike the Mindanayans, but neater, are Mohammedans, and ſpeak the Malayan language. The 6th, they brought us eggs, fowls, potatoes, &c. aboard; and the ſultan came afterwards in perſon in a boat, guarded by ten or twelve muſqueteers. We ſtaid here till the 12th; and then, ſteering to the ſouth-eaſt, we paſſed near four or five ſmall iſles, 5° 40′ ſouth latitude, ſix leagues from Callaſuſung harbour. The 28th, we ſaw the north-weſt point of Timor, diſtant eight leagues ſouth-eaſt by eaſt. The iſle of Timor is high and mountainous, ſtretching in length ſeventy leagues north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, its breadth ſixteen leagues, the middle of it in 9° ſouth latitude. The 29th, we ſtood off ſouth toward New Holland, part of the Terra Auſtralis incognita.

The 31ſt, we ſtood to the ſouth wind at weſt, in 12° 20′ latitude; at night we ſtood in the north for fear of a ſhoal, laid down in the charts, at 23° 50′, bearing ſouth by weſt from the eaſt end of Timor: in the morning we ſaw the ſhoal, being a ſpot of land appearing above the ſurface of the water, with divers rocks about it, ten feet above the water. It is of a triangular form, each ſide one league and a half long. This ſhoal is repreſented in our charts ſixteen or twenty leagues from New Holland; but we ran at leaſt ſixty leagues afterward due ſouth before we fell in with it.

January 4, 1688, we fell in with the land of New Holland, at 16° 50′ latitude; and, running along to the eaſt twelve leagues, came to a point of land, three leagues to the eaſt of which is a deep bay. We anchored a league to the eaſt of this point, January 5, two miles from the ſhore, in 29 fathom, hard ſand and clean ground.

New

New Holland is a vaſt track of land, that neither joins to Aſia, Africa, or America *. It was even low and ſandy ground, the points only excepted, which are rocky, and ſome iſles in this bay. This part had no freſh water, except what was dug, but divers ſorts of trees, and, among the reſt, the dragon-tree, which produces the gum-dragon, or dragon-blood: we ſaw neither fruit-trees, nor ſo much as the track of any living animal, except one, which ſeemed to be the footſtep of a beaſt, of the bigneſs of a large maſtiff-dog. The inhabitants are the moſt miſerable wretches in the univerſe, having no houſes or covering but the heavens; no garments, except a piece of the bark of a tree, tied like a girdle round the waiſt; no ſheep, poultry, or fruits, but feed upon a few fiſh, cockles muſſels, and periwinkles; without religion or government, but cohabit promiſcuouſly: for the reſt, their bodies are ſtrait, thin, and ſtrong-limbed, with great hands and eye-brows, and round foreheads: Their eye-lids are conſtantly half-cloſed, to keep the flies out, which are exceſſive troubleſome here: they have large bottle-noſes, thick lips, and wide mouths. Both men and women, old and young, want the two fore teeth of the upper-jaw; but whether they draw them, I am not able to tell. They have no beards, but black ſhort curled hair, like the African negroes, and are as black as thoſe. Their weapons are a ſort of wooden cutlaſſes; inſtead of a lance, they have a ſtrait pole, ſharpened and hardened at the end. Of their language I can ſay nothing, but that they ſpeak pretty much in the throat. We landed ſeveral times, and at laſt brought them to ſomething of a familiarity with us, by giving them ſome old cloaths; but could never prevail with them to give us the leaſt aſſiſtance in carrying

* See Taſman's Voyage for diſcoveries to the ſouthward; in the 2d vol.

water, or otherwiſe, they being very averſe to working.

March 12, we ſailed hence, taking our courſe north. April 7, we got ſight of the iſle of Sumatra, bearing north, being then at 7° ſouth latitude; and, the 8th, ſaw the weſt end of that iſle, being at 6° ſouth latitude. May 1, we ran down by the north-weſt end of Sumatra, directing our courſe to the Nicobar iſlands; we got ſight of them the 4th, a cluſter of iſlands lying ſouth of the Audeman iſles; but the moſt ſoutherly of them is properly called the Nicobar, lying four leagues north north-weſt from the north weſt end of Sumatra. The inhabitants trade promiſcuouſly with all the European nations; their chief commodities being ambergriſe, and fruits. May 5 we anchored in a ſmall bay, at the north-weſt end of the iſle of Nicobar, properly ſo called, in eight fathom water; its length is twelve leagues, the breadth three or four, in 7° 30′ north latitude. It produces plenty of cocoas and malleries, a fruit of the bigneſs of the bread fruit at Guam (before-mentioned) which the natives boil in water in covered jars. The inhabitants here are ſtrait-limbed, long-viſaged, with black eyes, and well-proportioned noſes; their hair is lank and black, their complexion of a copper-colour; the women have no eye-brows; I ſuppoſe they pulled them out, becauſe the men did not like them: the men wear only a kind of ſaſh round their middle. And the women nothing but a petticoat from the waiſt to the knees: their language had ſome words of Malayan and Portugueſe in it; their habitations were built upon poſts near the ſea-ſide, but I could find no ſettled government among them. Mr. Hall, Mr. Ambroſe, and I, being deſirous to leave the unruly crew we ſailed with, were ſet aſhore on this iſle, with an intent to go hence to Achin.

Accordingly we left this iſle May 5, with four Malayans and a Portugueſe, in a Nicobar canoe, not much

much bigger than our below-bridge London wherries; we rowed to the ſouth four at a time, by turns. The 7th, we looked out for Sumatra, ſuppoſing we were within twenty leagues of it; but, inſtead thereof, ſaw Nicobar at eight leagues diſtance; at noon we found 6° 55′ latitude. The 18th, the wind increaſing upon us, we were forced to run before the wind and ſea; the tempeſt was ſo violent, that we expected every moment to have been ſwallowed by the ſea-waves. The 19th, to our great joy, one of our Malayan friends cried out Pulo Way, i. e. the Iſle of Way, ſituated near the north-weſt end of Sumatra, which, about noon, we diſcovered to be the very iſle of Sumatra. The high land they had miſtaken for the iſle of Way, proved the Golden Mountain of Sumatra. The 20th, we ſteered with a weſt wind for the ſhore; and, in the afternoon, anchored near the mouth of the river Paſſange Ionca (in the iſle of Sumatra) thirty-ſix leagues to the eaſt of Achin, and ſix leagues to the Weſt of Diamond Point. As we were half-dead with the fatigues of this voyage, we were carried to a ſmall fiſher-town near the river, where we were kindly treated by the inhabitants, and ſtaid till June, when we left this place; and, in three days ſail, arrived at Achin. In July following, I went with captain Welden to Tonquin, and returned to Achin in April 1689, where I ſtaid till September; when, making a ſhort voyage to Manacca, I came thither againſt Chriſtmas 1690. Soon after, I went to Fort St. George; whence, after a ſtay of five months, I came back to Bencoolen, an Engliſh factory on the weſt coaſt of Sumatra. An Indian prince, whoſe name was Ieoly, was purchaſed by one Mr. Moody at Mindanao, together with his mother: Mr. Moody and I went together to Bencoolen; where, at parting, he gave me half the ſhare in this painted prince, and his mother, and left them in my cuſtody. They were born in the iſle of Meangis, abounding in gold, cloves, and nutmegs, as

himſelf told me: He was curiouſly painted down to the breaſt, and betwixt his ſhoulders behind, but moſt of all on the thighs before, after the nature of flower-work. By what I could underſtand, this painting was done by pricking the ſkin, and rubbing in it a certain gum of a tree, called Damurer, uſed inſtead of pitch in ſome part of the Indies. As to his captivity, he ſaid, that, as one day, he, his father and mother, were going in a canoe to one of the two adjacent iſles, they were taken by ſome Mindanayan fiſhermen, who ſold them all to the interpreter of Raja Laut, with whom he and his mother lived as ſlaves five years, and then were ſold for ſixty dollars to Mr. Moody. Some time afterward, Mr. Moody preſented me alſo with his ſhare in them, but the mother died not long after, and I had much ado to ſave the ſon's life.

During my ſtay at Bencoolen, I ſerved in the quality of a gunner of the fort; but, my time being expired, I got aboard captain Heath, in the Defence, with my painted prince, in order to my return for England. January 25, we ſailed in company of three ſhips more; but had not been long at ſea, before a fatal diſtemper raged aboard us, which we attribut d to the badneſs of the water taken in at Bencoolen during the land floods, which is often impregnated with the tinctures of poiſonous roots or herbs: the beſt remedy we had, was to mix ſome tamarinds with the rice we eat, which I believe preſerved the lives of many of our men, having ſcarce ſo many men left as were able, but with great difficulty, to bring us to the Cape of Good Hope, where we came to an anchor the beginning of April, by the aſſiſtance of a Dutch captain and his men.

After a ſtay of ſix weeks here, we ſailed, May 3, towards St. Helena, an iſle ſeated in 16° ſouth latitude, where we arrived June 20. It is about nine leagues long; and, though 400 leagues from the continent, enjoys a ſerene air, (except in the rainy ſeaſon)

ſon) and a temperate and healthy climate; which, together with the refreſhing herbs this iſland produces, is the reaſon that our Eaſt India ſhips touch here to recover their ſeamen from the ſcurvy, which they do in a little time. This iſle, after its firſt diſcovery by the Portugueſe, was poſſeſſed by the Dutch; but theſe relinquiſhing it for the Cape of Good Hope, the Engliſh ſettled here till 1672, when they were beaten out of it by the Dutch, who were forced, ſoon after, to ſurrender it again to the Engliſh, under captain Monday. We have now a fort there, with a garriſon, and a good number of great guns, to defend the common landing-place, being a ſmall bay, not above 500 paces wide: within this bay ſtands a ſmall Engliſh town; the inhabitants having their plantations deeper into the country, which furniſh them with potatoes, plantains, bananas, hogs, bullocks, cocks, and hens, ducks, geeſe, and turkeys, in vaſt plenty. July 2, 1691, we left this iſle, ſteering our courſe for England. We took the mid-way, betwixt Africa and the American continent, ſtill to the north of the line; and came to an anchor in the Downs, September 16, following. After my arrival in the Thames, being in want of money, I ſold, at firſt, part of the property I had in the before-mentioned prince Ieoly, and by degrees all the reſt. I underſtood afterward, that he was carried about for a ſight, and ſhewn for money; and that at laſt he died of the ſmall-pox at Oxford.

THE

THE

VOYAGE of Capt. WOODES ROGERS in the DUKE, and Capt. STEPHEN COURTNEY in the DUCHESS, round the WORLD.

IT has been univerſally allowed by thoſe who are proper judges of ſuch expeditions, that there never was any voyage of this nature ſo happily adjuſted, ſo well provided for in all reſpects, or in which the accidents, that uſually happen in privateers, were ſo effectually guarded againſt as in this: which was chiefly owing to the perſonal abilities of the gentlemen at Briſtol, who charged themſelves, not only with the expences of this expedition, but with the care of all things relating to it. Their firſt concern was the choice of proper officers, in which they were very fortunate: captain Woodes Rogers, who commanded in chief, was a bold, active, indefatigable officer, one that would not give up his opinion too readily to others, and who was not to be flattered by other peoples giving up their opinions to him. He had been a large ſufferer by the French, and was naturally no great friend to that nation; but his moſt ſingular quality, and that which indeed recommended him to this command, was a peculiar art he had of maintaining his authority over his ſeamen, and his readineſs in finding out expedients in the moſt difficult conjunctures. Captain Stephen Courtney was a man of birth, fortune, and of very amiable qualities: he contributed conſiderably to the expence of the voyage,

voyage, and took a ſhare in it, that he might ſee how it was managed, and be able either to prevent miſcarriages, or, at leaſt to make a faithful report of them. Captain Thomas Dover, who was third in command, was a proprietor alſo, and went for the ſame reaſon. He was by profeſſion a phyſician, and, toward the decline of his life, made a noiſe in the world, by recommending the uſe of crude mercury. He was a man of a rough temper, and could not eaſily agree with people about him: but his untoward diſpoſition had one good effect, which was this; that it hindered his making any party to ſupport him in his ill humours. As for captain Edward Cooke, who was ſecond to captain Courtney, he had been twice taken by the French, once by four Dunkirk privateers, and again by two men of war of fifty guns. The pilot, in the larger ſhip, was captain William Dampier, who was now to proceed for the fourth time into the ſouth ſeas, where his name was very well known, and, from his exploits, terrible to the Spaniards; and they were alſo extremely careful in the choice of their inferior officers, and, as far as it was poſſible, even of their private men.

The proprietors, in the next place, undertook to lay down rules for the conduct of the voyage; which were digeſted and ſigned by a committee of the proprietors, and ſtyled, very properly, The Conſtitution.

We have two accounts of this voyage, one by captain Rogers, the other by captain Cooke, and both in the manner of a Journal. That of captain Rogers will be principally regarded; but, where it is neceſſary, explanatory circumſtances and deſcriptions will be borrowed from captain Cooke. To proceed therefore: all things neceſſary being provided, ſays Mr. Rogers, we were firſt to ſail for Cork, in order to make up our complement of men; our force ſtanding thus: the Duke, burden about 300 tons, 30 guns, and 170 men, captain Woodes Rogers

gers commander, captain Thomas Dover ſecond captain, with three lieutenants, &c. and the Ducheſs, captain Stephen Courtney commander, captain Edward Cooke ſecond captain, with three lieutenants, burden 270 tons, 26 guns, and 151 men: both ſhips had legal commiſſions from his royal highneſs prince George of Denmark, Lord high admiral of England, to cruiſe on the coaſts of Peru and Mexico, in the South Seas, againſt her majeſty's enemies, the French and Spaniards; and to act jointly, as belonging to the ſame owners, merchants in Briſtol. On the 15th of June, 1708, we towed down from Hong-road to King-road, in order to fit our ſhip, and the better to keep our ſeamen on board; where we continued till Monday Auguſt the 1ſt; and then, at eleven in the forenoon, unmoored; and at two weighed, with our conſort the Ducheſs, eight ſail of other ſhips, and two ſloops.

On the 5th of Auguſt, we had ſight of the Iriſh ſhore; and, about eight in the evening, we weighed with the flood, a ſmall gale at eaſt: we had a Kinſale pilot on board, who endangered our ſhip, it being dark and foggy. Before day, he would have turned us into the next bay to the weſtward of Cork, had not I prevented it; which provoked me to chaſtiſe him for undertaking to pilot a ſhip, ſince he underſtood his buſineſs no better. We ſpent the time till the 27th of Auguſt, in adjuſting all things, and taking on board our freſh men provided for us at Cork, and in diſcharging ſeveral we had brought from Briſtol, and whom, by experience, we knew not to be fit for our purpoſe. We had now above double the number of officers uſual in privateers, and a large complement of men to each ſhip. We took this method of doubling our officers, to prevent mutinies, which often happen in long voyages; and that we might have a large proviſion for a ſucceſſion of officers in each ſhip, in caſe of mortality. Our ſhip was now ſo full, that we ſent our ſheet-cable, and other

other new ſtore-cordage, to Mr. Noblet Rogers, at Cork, to make room for our men and proviſions, having three cables beſide, and being willing rather to ſpare that, than any thing elſe we had on board. Our crew were continually marrying while we ſtaid at Cork, though they expected to ſail immediately. Among others, there was a Dane coupled by a Romiſh prieſt to an Iriſh woman, without underſtanding a word of each other's language, ſo that they were forced to uſe an interpreter; yet I perceived, that this pair ſeemed more afflicted at ſeparation than any of the reſt: the fellow continued melancholy for ſeveral days after we were at ſea. The reſt, underſtanding each other, drank their cans of flip till the laſt minute, concluded with a health to our good voyages, and their happy meeting, and then parted unconcerned. Moſt of us, the chief officers, embraced this deſign of privateering round the world, to retrieve the loſſes we had ſuſtained by the enemy. Our complement of ſailors in both ſhips was 333, of which above one third were foreigners from moſt nations; ſeveral of her majeſty's ſubjects on board were tinkers, taylors, hay-makers, pedlars, fidlers, &c. one negro, and about ten boys. With this mixed crew we hoped to be well manned, as ſoon as they had learned the uſe of arms, and got their ſea-legs, which we doubted not ſoon to teach them, and bring them to diſcipline.

On the firſt of September we took ſailing orders, the better to keep company with the Haſtings and fleet; after having agreed with our conſort captain Courtney, on ſignals between us, and appointed places of rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation, and how long to lie for each other at every place. About ten in the morning we came to ſail with the Haſtings, and about twenty merchant ſhips bound to the ſouthward and weſtward. On the 4th it blew freſh in the morning: captain Paul made a ſignal for me, captain Courtney, and captain Edwards, commander

mander of the Scipio; and, after ſpeaking with him, he ſent his boat for us, being larger than ours: we, with Mr. Dover and Mr. Vanbrugh, went in her, and found captain Paul aboard his ſhip. He propoſed to me and conſort, when he left the fleet, which would be very ſoon, to cruiſe a few days together off cape Finiſter. After having aſked us what we wanted, that he could ſupply us with, he gave us ſcrubbers, iron ſcrapers for the ſhip-bottom, a ſpeaking-trumpet, and other things that we had not: but would accept nothing from us, becauſe our voyage would be long; but told us, he ſhould be well pleaſed, if our owners returned him the ſame neceſſaries for his ſhip when he came back. About ſix in the evening we returned to our own ſhip, and having called all our crew upon deck, we acquainted them whither we were bound, and what our deſigns were, that, in caſe any diſputes had ariſen, we might have ſent the mutineers home in her majeſty's ſhip of war; but there was nobody at all diſſatisfied, except one poor fellow, who was to have been tything-man that year, and was apprehenſive his wife would be obliged to pay forty ſhillings for his default; but, when he ſaw every body elſe eaſy, with ſtrong hopes of plunder, he likewiſe grew quiet by degrees, and drank as heartily as any body, to the good ſucceſs of the voyage.

On the 10th, about ſix in the morning, we ſaw a ſail, to which we immediately gave chace: about three in the afternoon we came up with her, and then ſhe bore downright upon us, ſhewing Swediſh colours: I fired twice at her, before ſhe brought to; then went aboard her with my yaul, captain Courtney's boat being juſt before me. We examined the maſter, and found he came round Scotland and Ireland; we ſuſpected he had contraband goods on board, but we found it difficult to prove ſhe was a prize; and not being willing to hinder time by carrying

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ing her into any harbour, to examine her farther; we let her go without the leaſt embezzlement.

While I was on board the Swede, our men mutinied; the ring-leaders being our boatſwain, and three other inferior officers. This morning, the chief officers having kept with me in the after-part of the ſhip, we confined the authors of this diſorder, in which there was not one foreigner concerned: we put ten of the mutineers in irons.

This mutiny would not have been eaſily laid, were it not for the number of our officers, which we began to find very neceſſary to bring our crew to order and diſcipline; which is always very difficult in privateers, and without which it is impoſſible to carry on any diſtant undertaking like ours. The next day I diſcharged the priſoners out of irons, on their humble ſubmiſſion, and moſt ſolemn promiſes of dutiful behaviour for the future: ſuch among them as were petty officers, we reſtored to their commands, and all on board were forbid to diſobey or reproach them, on account of any paſt errors in their conduct; ſo that now we were all quiet again, and the crew in exceeding good humour, things having ended much beyond their expectations, there not being a man in irons who would not willingly have compounded for a whipping; and were therefore exceſſive briſk and diligent to ſhew their gratitude for having eſcaped it.

On the 18th, at five in the morning, we ſaw a ſail right a-head, between Fuerteventura and Grand Canary: we chaſed, and at ten came up with and took her. She was a ſmall Spaniſh ſhip, bound from Teneriff to Fuerteventura, with ſeveral men and women paſſengers, and laden with ſundry ſorts of goods. The next day, at eight in the morning, bore away for Oratavia road, where we ſtood off-and-on, and ſent away the prize's boat, with one of the owners agents, a prieſt, and the maſter of the prize, to treat about ranſoming the veſſel; and to get wine, proviſions, and other neceſſaries, for both ſhips.

About

About eight in the morning, of the 20th, a boat came from the town, with a letter from the Engliſh merchants reſiding there, wherein they expoſtulated with us for making a prize of the bark, alleging, that there was a free trade agreed to in thoſe iſlands, between her majeſty of Great-Britain, and the kings of France and Spain, ſo religiouſly obſerved by the latter, that they had cauſed an Engliſh ſhip, taken there by a French privateer, to be reſtored: and farther, repreſenting the danger that might ariſe to themſelves, living upon permiſſion in the enemy's country, if the ſaid bark were not immediately given up, for which repriſals would be made on them; as alſo, that we ſhould be anſwerable at home for interrupting the ſettled commerce. Captain Rogers, and captain Courtney, immediately returned an anſwer; importing, that, having no inſtructions relating to the Spaniſh veſſels trading among thoſe iſlands, they could not juſtify parting with the bark on their bare opinions, without ſome order or proclamation of her majeſty; the Engliſh being protected there only on anchoring-ground, and the bark being taken at ſea: that, in caſe Mr. Vanbrugh were not reſtored, they would carry away all the priſoners they had; and, if they apprehended any detriment to the factory, they might ranſom the bark, and ſeek their redreſs in England. They deſired diſpatch, there being no time to loſe; and, upon ſending back Mr. Vanbrugh, they would releaſe their priſoners.

At night another letter came in anſwer to this, from Mr. William Poulden, the conſul; the effect whereof was, That the Engliſh men of war were civilly received there, and never committed hoſtilities; and that it was ſtrange we ſhould inſiſt on ranſoming any Spaniards, who were never made priſoners in England, or elſewhere: and the governor there delivered up to him any Engliſh priſoners that were brought in by privateers; wherefore he

deſired

deſired thoſe in our cuſtody might be diſmiſſed, and the bark diſcharged, excepting a preſent of wine in return. With this, from the aforeſaid conſul at the city of Laguna, came another from the above-mentioned merchants at Oratavia port, much to the ſame purport with the others, only offering to pay the value of 450 pieces of eight, the ſum demanded for the bark, in wine, brandy, ſugar, oil, barley, and greens, to prevent incenſing the natives againſt them, not queſtioning but reparation would be made them in England. The captains Rogers and Courtney replied at the ſame time, threatening to cruiſe among the iſlands, to make amends for their loſt time, and to cannonade the town of Oratavia, unleſs they received ſatisfaction. On the 22d, at four in the morning, we ſtood in for the ſhore, making a clear ſhip; but, ſoon after, we ſaw a boat coming, with our owners agent, and Mr. Croſs, one of the Engliſh merchants, bringing five buts of wine, and other refreſhments. We lay by off the town, took the goods out of the prize, ſold the bark to Mr. Croſs for 450 dollars, and put the priſoners aboard her. Thus ended this troubleſome affair, and we were once more at liberty to mind our own concerns, and to think of proſecuting our voyage, which we did, after firſt holding a committee, where the whole of the late tranſaction was candidly examined, and unanimouſly approved; which method, for every body's ſecurity, we ſteadily purſued through the whole voyage; and felt the happy effect of it on our return, when every tranſaction appears in its proper light to our owners.

On the laſt of September we ran by Santa Lucia, one of the cape de Verd iſlands; and, by eight in the morning, being very near the weſt end of the iſland of St. Vincent, we bore away between it and the iſland of St. Antony, and then into the harbour of St. Vincent; and, about eleven a clock, came to an anchor in ten fathom water, within the rock: then ſeeing ſeveral men aſhore, and knowing the

iſland not to be inhabited, captain Cooke went in the pinnace armed, to ſee what they were, and found them to be Portugueſe, come from the iſland of St. Antony to catch ſea tortoiſe, or, as the ſeamen call them, turtles; who told him, we might wood and water here. This iſland lies in latitude of 16° 55′ north, and 25° 36′ longitude from the meridian of London. There are on it great plenty of Guinea hens, ſome hogs and goats; and, in the road, we caught plenty of fiſh. In the woods there are abundance of large ſpiders, as big as ſmall walnuts; and their webs very troubleſome to get through, being as ſtrong as ordinary threads, and very many of them. While we lay here, new diſturbances aroſe amongſt the men in relation to plunder; for here we had an opportunity of purchaſing things, and therefore every man wiſhed, that he had ſomething to purchaſe with. The effects taken in the late prize occaſioned theſe heart-burnings; to put an end to all which, and to fix the people in a firm reſolution of doing their duty, we determined to ſettle this affair at once, by framing ſuch articles, as, without giving our owners any ground of complaint, might inſpire the ſeamen with courage and conſtancy, and make them as willing to obey, as their officers were ready to command. It coſt ſome trouble to adjuſt and ſettle theſe articles; but that was thoroughly compenſated, by our finding, that they effectually anſwered our purpoſe; and that, among ſuch a number of people, there was not one who refuſed to comply.

We were at this time under ſome difficulties upon another account; we had ſent our linguiſt on ſhore to get refreſhments, and after ſtaying two days, in which time we heeled and cleaned our ſhips, and got wood and water on board, our boat returned with nothing but limes and tobacco, and no news of our linguiſt: but, ſoon after, there came another boat, belonging to that part of the iſland where the governor

vernor lives, with his deputy governor, a negro, who brought limes, tobacco, oranges, fowls, potatoes, hogs, bananas, muſk, water-melons, and brandy, which we bought of him, and paid in ſuch prize-goods as we had left of the bark's cargo, cheap enough. They are poor people, and will truck at any price for what they want, in ſuch payments as they can make. We were now ready to ſail, and, therefore, called a council, to conſider what was to be done with reſpect to our linguiſt, who had promiſed the deputy governor to wait for him at the water-ſide, but was not ſo good as his word; and, therefore, as this appeared to be intirely his own fault, the officers of both ſhips came unanimouſly to a reſolution, that we had better leave him behind, than ſuffer two ſhips to wait for one man who had diſobeyed his orders. We were the more inclined to do this, in order to ſet a proper example, that other people might learn, when ſent aſhore, to comply with their inſtructions, and come on board directly when they had done their buſineſs; without flattering themſelves, that fine words, and fair excuſes, would atone for breach of orders, and the delay of the voyage, to gratify the humours and fancies of private men. It was, indeed, but a very indifferent place to leave him in; but, on the other hand, as he knew the language, was well acquainted with the people among whom he was left, and might eaſily find a paſſage home, we perſiſted in our reſolution, and gave the neceſſary directions for ſailing as ſoon as poſſible, that we might not loſe the advantage of the ſeaſon, or be obliged to double Cape Horn at a wrong time of the year.

On the 8th of October, at ſeven in the evening, after putting the deputy governor on aſhore, where he muſt lie in an hole of the rocks, there being no houſe on that part of the iſland, we ſailed; our conſort having got before us, and lying with a light for us. There were ſeveral negroes on the iſland,

that came from St. Nicholas, and St. Antonio, to make oil of turtle, there being very good green turtle at this time of the year, which I ſometimes allowed our men to eat; they have likewiſe wild goats, but in no great plenty, wild aſſes, Guiney hens, kerlews, and abundance of ſea fowl. Captain Dampier, and others aboard our ſhips, that had formerly put in at St. Iago, another of theſe Cape de Verd iſlands, told us, that though this iſland is not often frequented by ſhips, yet it is preferable to St. Iago, for ſuch as are outward-bound; becauſe it is a much better road for ſhips, and more convenient for water and wood, and has better landing. The iſland is mountainous and barren; the plaineſt part lies againſt this ſandy bay, where we rode. The wood that grows in it is ſhort, and fit for no uſe but firing. The heats were exceſſive to us, who came newly from Europe; ſo that ſeveral of our men began to be ſick, and were blooded. Some of our officers, that went aſhore to hunt, could meet no game, but a wild aſs, which, after a long chaſe, they got within ſhot, and wounded; yet he afterwards held out ſo as to tire them, and they returned empty and weary. Theſe iſlands are ſo well known, that I need not ſay much of them *. In our paſſage toward the coaſt of Braſil, ſome new diſputes aroſe amongſt the men; and, after various conſultations, it was reſolved, that one Page, who was a ſecond mate on the Ducheſs, ſhould be ſent to ſerve on board the Duke, from whence Mr. Ballet was to remove on board the Ducheſs. Captain Cooke was ſent to execute this order; but Page refuſed to obey it; upon which a diſpute followed, that ended in blows: however, Page was at laſt brought on board our ſhip, where, being charged with mutiny, he deſired to go to the head to eaſe himſelf, before he made his defence; which being permitted, he jumped over-

* See Robert's voyage to theſe iſlands, in vol. ii.

board,

board, in hopes of getting back to the Ducheſs, while both the captains were abſent; but he was taken up, brought on board again, and puniſhed, which put an end to this diſſention.

On the 18th of November, we anchored before the iſland of Grande in eleven fathom water. While we lay here, there were new quarrels, and things had certainly come to a great height on board the Ducheſs, if captain Courtney had not put eight of the ring-leaders immediately into irons; which frighted the reſt, and, in all probability, prevented an attempt to run away with the ſhip: yet it did not quite free us from ill humours; for, on the 25th, in the afternoon, two Iriſh land-men ſtole into the woods, thinking to get away from us, though two ſuch ſparks ran away the 23d from the Ducheſs, and in the night were ſo frighted with tygers, as they thought, but really by monkeys and baboons, that they plunged into the water, hallooing to the ſhip, till they were fetched aboard again. About four next morning, the watch on the quarter-deck ſpied a canoe, and called her to come on board; but they not anſwering, and ſtriving to get away, made our people ſuſpect they had either got our men that ran away, or were coming, by agreement, to fetch them off the iſland which was uninhabited. We immediately ſent the pinnace and yawl after them; the pinnace, coming up near the canoe, fired, to ſtay them, but to no purpoſe; at laſt, they wounded one of the Indians that rowed in the canoe. He that owned and ſteered her was a friar, and had a quantity of gold, which he got at the mines, I ſuppoſe by his trade of confeſſing the ignorant. The friar had juſt run the canoe aſhore on a little iſland, full of wood, as our boats landed; and afterward told us he had gold there. A Portugueſe, that would not run away with the father, becauſe he had no gold to hide, knew our people to be Engliſh, and called the father back. The man that was wounded could not move, and

was brought by our men, with the father and ſeveral ſlaves, that rowed the large canoe, on board our ſhip, where our ſurgeon dreſſed the wounded Indian, who died in two hours time. I made the father as welcome as I could; but he was very uneaſy at the loſs of his gold, and the death of his ſlave; and ſaid, he would ſeek for juſtice in Portugal or England. The next day, both our men were taken and put in irons; and the laſt day of this month we left this place, of which I ſhall give the reader a ſhort deſcription.

The iſland Grande is remarkably high land, with a ſmall cliff and a tip ſtanding up on one ſide, in the middle of the higheſt land, eaſy to be ſeen, if clear And there is a ſmall iſland to the ſouthward without it, which riſes in three little hummocks: the neareſt hummock to the iſland is the leaſt; as we came in-and-out we ſaw it, and it appears alike on both ſides. There is alſo a ſingularly round white rock, that lies on the larboard ſide neareſt to Grande, between it and the main at the entrance going in. On the ſtarboard ſide there are ſeveral iſlands, and the main is much like iſlands, till you get well in The beſt way, when you open the coves that are inhabited on the ſtarboard ſide going in, is to get a pilot to carry you to the watering cove within Grande; otherwiſe ſend in a boat to the freſh-water cove, which lies round the inner weſtermoſt point of the iſland, and near a league in the paſſage is between ſmall iſlands, but room enough, and bold: it is the ſecond cove under the firſt high mount, and round behind the firſt point you ſee when you are in between the two iſlands. This is the cove where we watered; there are two other coves very good, with ſome ſhoal-banks between them, but no ſhoal-ground before we come to this cove. We ſounded all the paſſage in, and ſeldom found leſs than ten fathom water, but had not time to know or ſound the reſt of the coves. The town bears north-eaſt about three leagues diſtant from this cove.

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The iſland of Grande is near about nine leagues long, high land, and ſo is the main within: all you ſee near the water-ſide is thick, covered with wood. The iſland abounds with monkeys, and other wild beaſts; has plenty of good timber, fire-wood, and excellent water, with oranges and lemons, with guavas growing wild in the woods. The neceſſaries we got from the town were rum, ſugar, and tobacco, which they ſell very dear, though not good to ſmoke, it is ſo very ſtrong. We had alſo fowls and hogs, but the latter are ſcarce; beef and mutton are cheap, but no great quantity to be had. Indian corn, bananas, and plantains, guavas, lemons, oranges, and pine-apples, they abound with, but have no bread, except caſſada, (the ſame ſort as is eaten in our Weſt Indies) which they call faranada pan, bread of wood; they have no kind of ſalading. We had fine pleaſant weather moſt of the time we were here, but hot like an oven, the ſun being right over us. The winds we did not much obſerve, becauſe they were little and variable, but commonly between the north and the eaſt. I had Newhoff's account of Braſil on board; and, by all the inquiry and obſervation I could make, found his deſcription of the country, its product, and animals, to be juſt *. We continued our voyage, coaſting very far to the ſouth, where we endured great cold, which affected our men extremely, inſomuch that a third part of both ſhips companies fell ſick; and this induced us to bear away for the iſland of Juan Fernandez; which we, however, did not find very eaſily, on account of its being laid down differently in all the charts; and captain Dampier likewiſe was at a loſs, though he had been here ſo often, and though he had a map of the iſland in his head, that agreed exactly with the country when we came to ſee it: which ought to induce ſea-officers to prefer what is

* See Nieuhoff's account of Braſil, in our firſt volume.

properly their buſineſs to idle amuſements; ſince, with all this knowledge, we were forced to make the main-land of Chili in order to find this iſland, and did not ſtrike it without difficulty at laſt *.

On February 1, 1709, we came before that iſland, having had a good obſervation the day before, and found our latitude to be 34° 10′ ſouth. In the afternoon, we hoiſted out our pinnace; and captain Dover, with the boat's crew, went in her to go aſhore, though we could not be leſs than four leagues off. As ſoon as the pinnace was gone, I went on board the Ducheſs, who admired our boat attempting going aſhore at that diſtance from land. It was againſt my inclination; but, to oblige captain Dover, I let her go: as ſoon as it was dark, we ſaw a light aſhore. Our boat was then about a league from the iſland, and bore away for the ſhips as ſoon as ſhe ſaw the lights: we put our lights aboard for the boat, though ſome were of opinion, the lights we ſaw were our boat's lights: but, as night came on, it appeared too large for that: we fired our quarter-deck gun, and ſeveral muſquets, ſhewing lights in our mizen and fore-ſhrouds, that our boat might find us whilſt we were in the lee of the iſland: about two in the morning our boat came on board, having been two hours on board the Ducheſs, that took them up aſtern of us; we were glad they got well off, becauſe it began to blow. We were all convinced the light was on the ſhore, and deſigned to make our ſhips ready to engage, believing them to be French ſhips at anchor, and we muſt either fight them, or want water. While we were under theſe apprehenſions, we ſtood on the backſide of the iſland, in order to fall in with the ſoutherly wind, till we were paſſed the iſland; and then we came back to it again, and ran cloſe aboard the land that begins to make the north-eaſt ſide. We ſtill continued to reaſon upon this mat-

* See this iſland particularly deſcribed in Anſon's voyage.

ter;

ter; and it is in a manner incredible, what ſtrange notions many of our people entertained from the ſight of the fire upon the iſland. It ſerved, however, to ſhew peoples tempers and ſpirits; and we were able to give a tolerable gueſs how our men would behave, in caſe there really were any enemies upon the iſland. The flaws came heavy off the ſhore, and we were forced to reef our top-ſails when we opened the middle bay, where we expected to have found our enemy; but ſaw all clear, and no ſhips, nor in the other bay next the north-eaſt end. Theſe two bays are all that ſhips ride in, which recruit on this iſland; but the middle bay is by much the beſt. We gueſſed there had been ſhips there, but that they were gone on ſight of us.

We ſent our yawl aſhore about noon, with captain Dover, Mr. Fry, and ſix men, all armed: mean while we and the Ducheſs kept turning to get in, and ſuch heavy flaws came off the land, that we were forced to let go our top-ſail ſheet, keeping all hands to ſtand by our ſails, for fear of the winds carrying them away: but when the flaws were gone, we had little or no wind. Theſe flaws proceeded from the land, which is very high in the middle of the iſland. As our boat did not return, we ſent our pinnace with the men armed, to ſee what was the occaſion of the yawl's ſtay; for we were afraid, that the Spaniards had a garriſon there, and might have ſeized them. We put out a ſignal for our boat, and the Ducheſs ſhewed a French enſign. Immediately our pinnace returned from the ſhore, and brought abundance of cray-fiſh, with a man cloathed in goat-ſkins, who looked wilder than the firſt owners of them. He had been on the iſland four years and four months, being left there by captain Stroddling in the Cinque-ports; his name was Alexander Selkirk, a Scotſman, who had been maſter of the Cinque-ports, a ſhip that came here laſt with captain Dampier, who told me, that this was the beſt man in her. I immediately agreed

agreed with him to be a mate on board our ſhip: it was he who made the fire laſt night when he ſaw our ſhips, which he judged to be Engliſh. During his ſtay here, he ſaw ſeveral ſhips paſs by, but only two came in to anchor: as he went to view them, he found them to be Spaniards, and retired from them; upon which they ſhot at him: had they been French, he would have ſubmitted; but choſe to riſque his dying alone on the iſland, rather than fall into the hands of the Spaniards in theſe parts; becauſe he apprehended they would murder him, or make a ſlave of him in the mines; for he feared they would ſpare no ſtranger that might be capable of diſcovering the South Seas. The Spaniards had landed, before he knew what they were; and they came ſo near him, that he had much ado to eſcape; for they not only ſhot at him, but purſued him to the woods, where he climbed to the top of a tree, at the foot of which they made water, and killed ſeveral goats juſt by, but went off again without diſcovering him.

He told us that he was born at Largo, in the county of Fife, in Scotland, and was bred a ſailor from his youth. The reaſon of his being left here, was a difference between him and his captain; which, together with the ſhip's being leaky, made him willing rather to ſtay here, than to go along with him at firſt; and, when he was at laſt willing to go, the captain would not receive him. He had been at the iſland before to wood and water, when two of the ſhip's company were left upon it for ſix months, till the ſhip returned, being chaſed thence by two French South Sea ſhips. He had with him his cloaths and bedding, with a firelock, ſome powder, bullets, and tobacco, a hatchet, a knife, a kettle, a bible, ſome practical pieces, and his mathematical inſtruments and books. He diverted and provided for himſelf as well as he could; but, for the firſt eight months, had much ado to bear up againſt melancholy, and the terror of being left alone in ſuch a deſolate place.

He

He built two huts with pimento-trees, covered them with long graſs, and lined them with the ſkins of goats, which he killed with his gun as he wanted, ſo long as his powder laſted, which was but a pound; and that being almoſt ſpent, he got fire by rubbing two ſticks of pimento wood together upon his knee. In the leſſer hut, at ſome diſtance from the other, he dreſſed his victuals; and in the larger he ſlept, and employed himſelf in reading, ſinging pſalms, and praying; ſo that he ſaid, he was a better chriſtian, while in this ſolitude, than ever he was before, or than, he was afraid, he ſhould ever be again. At firſt he never eat any thing till hunger conſtrained him, partly for grief, and partly for want of bread and ſalt: nor did he go to bed, till he could watch no longer; the pimento wood, which burnt very clear, ſerved him both for fire and candle, and refreſhed him with its fragrant ſmell. He might have had fiſh enough, but would not eat them for want of ſalt, becauſe they occaſioned a looſeneſs, except cray-fiſh, which are as large as our lobſters, and very good: theſe he ſometimes boiled, and at other times broiled, as he did his goats fleſh, of which he made very good broth, for they are not ſo rank as ours: he kept an account of 500 that he killed while there, and caught as many more, which he marked on the ear, and let go.

When his powder failed, he took them by ſpeed of feet; for his way of living, continual exerciſe of walking and running, cleared him of all groſs humours; ſo that he ran with wonderful ſwiftneſs through the woods, and up the rocks and hills, as we perceived when we employed him to catch goats for us. We had a bull dog, which we ſent, with ſeveral of our nimbleſt runners, to help him in catching goats; but he diſtanced and tired both the dog and the men, caught the goats, and brought them to us on his back. He told us, that his agility in purſuing a goat had once like to have coſt him his life; he

he purſued it with ſo much eagerneſs, that he catched hold of it on the brink of a precipice, of which he was not aware, the buſhes hiding it from him; ſo that he fell with the goat down the precipice, a great height, and was ſo ſtunned and bruiſed with the fall, that he narrowly eſcaped with his life; and, when he came to his ſenſes, found the goat dead under him: he lay there about twenty-four hours, and was ſcarce able to crawl to his hut, which was about a mile diſtant, or to ſtir abroad again in ten days. He came at laſt to reliſh his meat well enough without ſalt or bread; and, in the ſeaſon, had plenty of good turneps, which had been ſowed there by captain Dampier's men, and have now overſpread ſome acres of ground. He had enough of good cabbage from the cabbage-trees, and ſeaſoned his meat with the fruit of the pimento-trees, which is the ſame as Jamaica pepper, and ſmells deliciouſly: he found alſo a black pepper, called Malageta, which was very good to expel wind, and againſt griping in the guts. He ſoon wore out all his ſhoes and cloaths by running in the woods; and, at laſt, being forced to ſhift without them, his feet became ſo hard, that he ran every where without difficulty; and it was ſome time before he could wear ſhoes after we found him; for, not being uſed to any ſo long, his feet ſwelled, when he came firſt to wear them again.

After he had conquered his melancholy, he diverted himſelf ſometimes with cutting his name on the trees, and the time of his being left, and continuance there. He was at firſt much peſtered with cats and rats, that had bred in great numbers, from ſome of each ſpecies, which had got aſhore from ſhips that put in there to wood and water: the rats gnawed his feet and cloaths whilſt aſleep, which obliged him to cheriſh the cats with his goats fleſh, by which many of them became ſo tame, that they would lie about him in hundreds, and ſoon delivered him from the rats: he likewiſe tamed ſome kids; and, to divert himſelf,

himſelf, would now-and-then ſing and dance with them, and his cats: ſo that, by the favour of Providence, and vigour of his youth, being now but thirty years old, he came, at laſt, to conquer all the inconveniencies of his ſolitude, and to be very eaſy. When his cloaths were out, he made himſelf a coat and a cap of goat-ſkins, which he ſtitched together, with little thongs of the ſame, that he cut with his knife. He had no other needle, but a nail; and, when his knife was worn to the back, he made others, as well as he could, of ſome iron hoops, that were left aſhore, which he beat thin, and ground upon ſtones. Having ſome linen-cloth by him, he ſewed him ſome ſhirts with a nail, and ſtitched them with the worſted of his old ſtockings, which he pulled out on purpoſe. He had his laſt ſhirt on when we found him in the iſland *.

At his firſt coming on board us, he had ſo much forgot his language, for want of uſe, that we could ſcarce underſtand him; for he ſeemed to ſpeak his words by halves. We offered him a dram; but he would not touch it, having drank nothing but water ſince his being there; and it was ſome time before he could reliſh our victuals. He could give us an account of no other product of the iſland, than what we have mentioned, except ſome black plums, which are very good, but hard to come at, the trees, which bear them, growing on high mountains and rocks. Pimento-trees are plenty here, and we ſaw ſome of ſixty feet high, and about two yards thick; and cotton-trees higher, and near four fathom round in the ſtock. The climate is ſo good, that the trees and graſs are verdant all the year round. The winter laſts no

* When Mr. Selkirk came to England, he put his papers into the hands of the famous Mr. Daniel Defoe, to digeſt for publication: but that induſtrious gentleman converted the materials into his well known hiſtory of Robinſon Cruſoe, and returned Mr. Selkirk his papers again; after thus defrauding him of the emolument he was ſo juſtly entitled to hope from them, by this piece of craft.

longer

longer than June and July, and is not then ſevere, there being only a ſmall froſt, and a little hail; but ſometimes great rains. The heat of the ſummer is equally moderate; and there is not much thunder, or tempeſtuous weather of any ſort. He ſaw no venomous or ſavage creature on the iſland, nor any other ſort of beaſts, but goats, the firſt of which had been put aſhore here, on purpoſe for a breed, by Juan Fernandez, a Spaniard, who ſettled there, with ſome families, till the continent of Chili began to ſubmit to the Spaniards; which, being more profitable, tempted them to quit this iſland, capable, however, of maintaining a good number of people, and being made ſo ſtrong, that they could not be eaſily diſlodged from thence.

February 3, we got our ſmith's forge on ſhore, ſet our coopers to work, and made a little tent for me to have the benefit of the air. The Ducheſs had alſo a tent for their ſick men; ſo that we had a ſmall town of our own here; and every body employed, a few men ſupplied us all with fiſh of ſeveral ſorts, all very good, in ſuch abundance, that, in a few hours, we could take as many, as would ſerve 200. There were ſea-fowls in the bay, as large as geeſe; but eat fiſhy. The governor (as we called Selkirk) never failed of procuring us two or three goats a day for our ſick men; by which, with the help of the greens, and the wholſome air, they recovered very ſoon of the ſcurvy; ſo that captain Dover and I both thought it a very agreeable ſeat, the weather being neither too hot, nor too cold. We ſpent our time, till the 10th, in refitting our ſhips, taking wood on board, and laying in water, that which we brought from England and St. Vincent, being ſpoiled by the badneſs of the caſks. We likewiſe boiled up about eighty gallons of ſea-lions oil, as we might have done ſeveral tons, had we been provided with veſſels. We refined it for our lamps, and to ſave candles. The ſailors ſometimes uſe it to fry their meat, for want

want of butter, and find it agreeable enough. The men, who worked on our rigging, eat young ſeels, which they preferred to our ſhip's victuals, and ſaid, it was as good as Engliſh lamb, though I ſhould have been glad of ſuch an exchange. We made what haſte we could to get all the neceſſaries on board, being willing to loſe no time; for we were informed at the Canaries, that five ſtout French ſhips were coming together to theſe ſeas.

On February 13, we held a conſultation, in which we made ſeveral regulations for preſerving ſecrecy, diſcipline, and ſtrict honeſty, on board both veſſels; and, on the 17th, we ſettled another matter of as great importance, which was, that two men from on board the Duke ſhould be put on board the Ducheſs, and two men from on board the Ducheſs on board the Duke, in order to ſee, that juſtice was reciprocally done by each ſhip's company to the other. On the 28th, we hoiſted both pinnaces into the water, to try them under ſail, with a gun fixed in each of them, and whatever elſe was requiſite to render them very ſerviceable ſmall privateers. We found the nights very cold, and the days not near ſo warm as might have been expected in that latitude, where there never falls any rain, but ſuch dews in the night, as are equivalent to it, though the air is, generally ſpeaking, ſerene. On May 15, in the evening, we ſaw a ſail: our conſort, being neareſt, ſoon took her. She was a little veſſel, of ſixteen ton, from Payta, bound to Cheripe for flour, with a ſmall ſum of money to purchaſe it; the maſter's name Antonio Heliagos, a Meſtizo, or one begotten between an Indian and a Spaniard; his crew eight men, one of them a Spaniard, one a negro, and the reſt Indians. We aſked them for news; and they aſſured us, that all the French ſhips, being ſeven in number, ſailed out of theſe ſeas ſix months ago; and that no more were to return: adding, that the Spaniards had ſuch an averſion to them, that, at Callao, the ſea-port for Lima, they

they killed ſo many of the French, and quarrelled ſo frequently with them, that none were ſuffered to come aſhore there for ſome time before they ſailed from thence. After we had put men on board the prize, he haled off cloſe on a wind for Lobos, having ſhot within it; and, had we not been better informed by the crew of the prize, might have endangered our ſhips, by running in farther, becauſe there are ſhoals between the iſland and the main. There is a paſſage for boats to windward to come into the road, which is to the leeward of theſe iſlands, in a ſound between them. It is not half a mile broad; but above a mile deep; has from ten to twelve fathom water, and good anchor ground. There is no coming in for ſhips, but to leeward of the iſlands. We went in with a ſmall weather-tide, though I never perceived it to flow above three feet whilſt we lay here. The wind commonly blows ſoutherly, veering a little to the eaſtward. On the eaſtermoſt iſland (which was on our larboard ſide as we lay at anchor in the ſound) there is a round hummock, and behind it a ſmall cove, very ſmooth, deep, and convenient enough for a ſhip to careen in. There we haled up, and fitted our little frigate. The higheſt part of the iſland appears, in the road, not much higher than a large ſhip's top-maſt-head. The ſoil is an hungry, white, clayiſh earth, mixed with ſand and rocks. There is no freſh water, or green thing, on the iſlands. Here is abundance of vultures alias carrion-crows, which looked ſo like turkeys, that one of our officers, at landing, bleſſed himſelf at the ſight, and hoped to fare deliciouſly here. He was ſo eager, that he would not ſtay till the boat could put him aſhore; but leaped into the water with his gun, and, getting near enough to a parcel, let fly at them: but, when he came to take up his game, it ſtunk inſufferably, and made us merry at his miſtake. The other birds here are, penguins, pelicans, boobies, gulls, and a ſort of fowls like a teal, that neſtle in holes on the land. Our men

men got loads of them, which they ſkinned, and praiſed them for very good meat. We found abundance of bulruſhes, and empty jars, that the Spaniſh fiſhermen had left aſhore. All over this coaſt they uſe jars inſtead of caſks for oil, wine, and all other ſorts of liquids. Here is abundance of ſeals, and ſome ſea-lions. The ſeals are much larger than at Juan Fernandez; but the fur not ſo fine. Our people killed ſeveral, with a deſign to eat their livers; but one of our crew, a Spaniard, dying ſuddenly after eating them, I forbad the uſe of them. Our priſoners told us, they accounted the old ſeals very unwholſome. The wind always blowing freſh over the land, brought an ugly noiſome ſmell aboard from the ſeals ſhore, which gave me a violent head-ach; and every body elſe complained of this nauſeous ſmell. We found nothing ſo offenſive at Juan Fernandez. Our priſoners told us, they expected the widow of the late viceroy of Peru would ſhortly embark for Acapulco, with her family and riches, and ſtop at Payta to refreſh, or ſail near in ſight, as cuſtomary, in one of the king's ſhips of thirty-ſix guns; and that, about eight months ago, there was a ſhip with 200,000 pieces of eight aboard, the reſt of her cargo liquors and flour, which had paſſed Payta for Acapulco. Our priſoners added, that they left ſeignor Morel in a ſtout ſhip, with dry goods, for Lima, recruiting at Payta, where he expected in a few days a French built ſhip belonging to the Spaniards, to come from Panama richly laden, with a biſhop aboard. Payta is a common recruiting place to thoſe who go to or from Lima, or moſt parts to windward, in their trade to Panama, or any part of the coaſt of Mexico. Upon this advice, we agreed to ſpend as much time as poſſible cruiſing off of Payta, without diſcovering ourſelves, for fear of hindering our other deſigns.

On April 1, we took a galleon, by which I mean no more than a ſhip built in that manner, commanded

by two brothers, whoſe names were Joſeph and John Morel. She was of the burden of 500 ton, laden with dry goods and negroes. The next day we took another prize; and, on the 7th, Mr. Vanbrugh was removed from the council. But here our authors differ: captain Rogers ſays, that captain Dover accuſed him of great inſolence to him; but captain Cooke ſays, that it was captain Rogers himſelf that accuſed him, for offering to vote with him, right or wrong, upon all occaſions. It was a great pity theſe diſputes happened at that time, when all things were preparing for action, and a reſolution taken to attack the town of Guiaquil, however provided; in order to which, it was determined to ſend the Duke and the Beginning to Payta, the latter to go in and take a view of the harbour, to ſee if there were any ſhips in it, and afterwards to cruiſe with thirty men, in hopes of falling in with the aforeſaid biſhop. This was a ſeaſon of great conſultation, which was ſoon ſucceeded by action. On April 11, there was a grand council held on board the Duke, wherein all things were fully conſidered, the conqueſt of Guiaquil reſolved on, and a paper, in the nature of inſtructions from the committee to the commanders in chief was prepared; which, however formal it might ſeem, was undoubtedly a very right method, and kept, as well as taught, every man in his duty.

On April 12, it was reſolved in a committee, not to ſend the Beginning prize into Payta, as had been agreed on, for fear of being diſcovered; but to attempt the town of Guiaquil, the enterprize to be conducted by the three captains Dover, Rogers, and Courtney; the firſt to command a company of marines of ſeventy men; the ſecond a company of officers and ſailors, of ſeventy-one men; the third, ſuch another company of ſeventy-three men; captain Dampier with the artillery; and, for a reſerve, upon occaſion, twenty-two men: in all, 238. Captain Edward Cooke to command the Ducheſs, with forty-

two

two men; captain Robert Fry, the Duke, with forty men: total, 320 men: the blacks, Indians, and priſoners, were about 266 more. On the 13th, we haled in for cape Blanco. and at noon it bore eaſt ſouth-eaſt, diſtant ten leagues. A committee being held, certain articles relating to plunder were agreed on, for the encouragement of officers and men.

On the 15th, in the morning, we ſaw a ſail near the ſhore; and, having little wind, the Duke's boat, commanded by captain Fry, and the Ducheſs's, by captain Cooke, rowed directly for her, going off in ſuch haſte, that neither of us had the ſwivel guns we uſed to carry in the boats, nor our full complemen of men, only ten muſquets, four piſtols, and not much powder and ſhot, nor any water; and rowed very hard to come with the ſhip for the ſpace of ſix leagues; the Duke's boat coming firſt near her, ſhe put out Spaniſh colours, fired a gun at them, and hoiſted a Spaniſh flag at the main top-maſt-head: the Duke's boat then lay by for us to come up; we ſaw ſhe was French built, and, by the account the priſoners had given us before, concluded it muſt be the ſhip we had been ſo long cruiſing for, which was to carry the biſhop. Our ſhips being almoſt out of ſight, and the Spaniards ſo near the coaſt, and making the beſt of her way to run aſhore in a ſandy bay, we reſolved to lay her aboard in each bow, and accordingly made the beſt of our way, I being then on her weather quarter, and captain Fry on her lee: we deſigned to have told them we were friends, till got out of the way of their ſtern-chace; but the Duke's men, thinking the Spaniards had been going to give us a volley, poured in their ſhot among them, then we laid in our oars, and fell to it: the diſpute was hot for a long time, we keeping a conſtant fire, and the enemy anſwering; who killed two of captain Fry's men, and wounded one of his, and two of mine. One of the dead men was captain John Rogers, our ſecond lieutenant, and brother to

captain Rogers, who behaved himſelf very well during the action. The Duke's boat, finding the enterprize too difficult, bore away; and ſome time after we did the like. Captain Fry having put ſome of his men aboard us, given us ſome powder and ſhot, and taken in our wounded men, ſtood away for the ſhips, whilſt I made again for the enemy, reſolving to keep her from the ſhore, and, rather than fail, to clap her aboard; the Spaniards, perceiving what we deſigned, edged off to ſea, and we after them. Our ſhips came up apace, and we kept cloſe to the Spaniard, ſometimes firing at him. The Ducheſs being come up, fired a ſhot or two at him; and then he ſtruck, and we clapt him aboard. The men begged for good quarter; and we promiſed them all civility imaginable. This ſhip came from Panama, and was bound for Lima, to be fitted out for a man of war, the captain having his commiſſion accordingly. There were ſeventy blacks, and many paſſengers, with a conſiderable quantity of pearls aboard; the lading, bale-goods; and ſomething belonging to the biſhop; but they had ſet him on ſhore, with ſeveral paſſengers, where they touched laſt. The veſſel was about 270 ton burden, commanded by Don Joſeph Arizabella, who told us, the biſhop had been landed at point St. Helena, and gone by land to Guiaquil. We found ſeveral guns in the hold, for the ſhip would carry twenty-four, but had only ſix mounted. Many of the paſſengers were conſiderable merchants at Lima, and the briſkeſt Spaniards I ever ſaw. When the French had this veſſel, ſhe was called la Lune d'Or, the Golden Moon. Captain Cooke (whoſe account we follow) remained aboard her, ſending the captain and priſoners to our ſhips.

On the 21ſt, in the morning, the Beginning was ſent a-head towards point Arena, on the iſland of Puna, for fear of any danger; but ſhe found there only an empty veſſel riding cloſe under the point: ſhe

ſhe proved to be a new Spaniſh bark, that had been ſent to load ſalt; but the men having ſight of us, thought proper to abandon her: all apprehenſions were now totally removed, and, at five in the afternoon, the tranſports rowed for the town of Guiaquil, and at eleven ſaw a light in the town; whereupon we rowed as eaſy as could be, for fear of diſcovery, till within a mile of it; then heard a centinel call to another, and bid him bring fire. Perceiving we were diſcovered, we rowed over to the other ſide, againſt the town, ſaw a fire made where the centinels talked, and, ſoon after, many lights all over the town; and, at the water-ſide, heard them ring the alarm-bell, fire ſeveral vollies, and light a fire on the hill where the beacon was kept, to give the town notice that we were come up the river. Hereupon the boats came to a grappling, and ſuch an hot diſpute aroſe among ſome of our officers, that they were heard aſhore; but the Spaniards, not underſtanding what they ſaid, fetched an Engliſhman, and conducted him along the ſhore, to interpret what they heard. However, before he came, the diſpute was over. This account we had from that very Engliſhman, who afterward came over to us, and proceeded in the voyage.

A council was held in the ſtern of one of the boats, to reſolve, whether we ſhould land immediately, or ſtay till day-break; and the officers differing in their opinions, it was agreed, ſince we did not know the ground, and the barks were not come up, which had near half the men and the artillery, to ſtay till day-light, when it was hoped the barks would join. We fell a little way down the river to meet them, hearing ſeveral muſquet-ſhots in our way, which, at firſt, we thought might be from the Spaniards along the ſhore. On the 22d, at break of day, we ſaw one of our barks at anchor cloſe under the ſhore, within a mile of the town, and at flood, the other coming up the river; we then rowed back to the bark which had

fired thoſe muſquets at ſome fiſhermen paſſing by, whom we took. When all our forces were joined, we held a council in the pinnace, proceeded up the river, and ſent a flag of truce with the captain of the French built ſhip, the governor of Puna, and another priſoner; then towed up the barks a-breaſt againſt the town, and came to an anchor. When the captain of the French built ſhip came to the corregidor, or mayor of the town, he aſked our number, which the captain magnified. The corregidor anſwered, they were boys, and not men: and the captain replied, he would find they were men; for they had fought him bravely in their open boats, though he had killed one of the commanders brothers, and wounded and killed others; and, therefore, adviſed him to agree for the ranſom of the town; for, though he had 3000 men, he would not be able to withſtand them: to which the corregidor replied, my horſe is ready.

On the 23d, having towed the barks cloſe up before the town, and brought them to the pinnace, we went up the river after ſome veſſels, and brought ſix of them to an anchor by our barks: we alſo took poſſeſſion of two new, of about 400 ton each; then went aſhore with a flag of truce, and the governor came on board one of the prizes, to agree about the ranſom of the town and ſhips; but it could not be then concluded. He promiſed to meet the captains again at ſeven in the evening; yet he was not ſo good as his word. The boats went up the river again to ſee for more ſhips, and returned without finding any: however, we took ſeveral canoes, with ſome plate on board. On the 24th, in the morning, the governor came off again to treat: our captains thought to have ſeized him, becauſe he had forfeited his word in not returning over night, and for ſending word that morning, that he had more people come into the town: but he, alledging that it was contrary to a flag of truce, was ſet on ſhore again, and had

had an hour's time given him to get his men ready. However, the boat went and came two or three times with the flag of truce; but the governor and captains not agreeing, all things were made ready, and we towed nearer the ſhore, wearing our union-jack at our main top-maſt-heads.

At four in the afternoon the men landed, with ſo much bravery, that the Spaniards fired only their firſt volley, and fled, our people preſſing them and purſuing them to their cannon, which they ſoon gained, the gunner only, who was an Iriſhman, ſtanding by them till he was wounded in four places, whereof he died ſoon after; as we were informed by ſome priſoners we took. Our men marched in a body through both towns, driving out the enemy, placed three guards in the three churches, and ſet fire to five or ſix houſes in the old town, that ſtood adjoining to the wood, leſt the Spaniards ſhould have any cover from them to annoy our guard, which was within piſtol-ſhot. All this night they kept firing out of the woods at our centinels, or any other that ſtirred out of the guard, yet did no harm; ſeveral parties of horſe and foot came down, without making any attempt: in the mean while the Ducheſs's pinnace, which was commanded by lieutenant Connely, with twenty-two men, went up the river, landed at every houſe, took their plate, and what elſe of value they found, and had ſome ſkirmiſhes with the enemy, in which one of our men was wounded. On the 25th, the enemy appeared thick in the woods, ſometimes coming out; and our guards had ſome ſkirmiſhes with them, in which one man was wounded, ſo that they expected to be attacked.

On the 26th, in the morning, captain Courtney marched to his guard again, to cover the men who were getting down proviſions, &c. Several priſoners were taken, and brought to the main guard. Meſſengers, with a flag of truce, came about ranſoming the town, but could not agree: in the af-

ternoon brought one boat of provisions aboard the barks; and at three returned to ransom the town, which was at last agreed on for 30,000 dollars; we to have three hostages, and to stay at Puna till they could raise the said sum, the people having carried their money out of town, and being so dispersed, that there was no raising it whilst we were there, the inhabitants of the adjacent country having withdrawn all their effects. On the 27th, in the morning, the hostages for ransom were put on board, as was a boat's lading of brandy: we took down our union flag, and hoisted a flag of truce, firing a gun for a signal, that the Spaniards might come into the town, and that no hostilities should be committed on either side, during the time we had agreed to stay for the money, having before concerted with the Spaniards, to make the said signal for them to come in to secure what we had left, that the Indians and blacks might not rob: and, I am apt to believe, they had plundered as much as we had taken; for we took several, as we went the rounds, laden with goods, which they owned they had stolen; and were afterwards informed, that, in the hurry, the inhabitants had given plate and money to blacks to carry out of the town, which they could never hear of after.

On the 29th, in the morning, the barks weighed, and got down to Puna, where they anchored off the town. Captain Rogers, in the Duke's pinnace, came on board, and gave an account, that they had taken, plundered, and ransomed the town of Guiaquil; that three of our men had been killed; two by our own people, and one by the Spaniards; and four wounded: that the inhabitants, while treating, had carried off their money and plate, retiring to the woods, and leaving their guns; four whereof were taken, with a considerable quantity of meal, pease, sugar, brandy, and wine, which was coming down in the barks. What we killed and wounded of the enemy

enemy could not be known, becauſe they carried them off.

Having, from the ſhip's ſide, diſcovered a ſail ſtanding up the river, with the tide of flood, we ſent both ſhips boats after her, and, at four in the afternoon, ſhe ſtruck to the boats. They brought her in at night. She was a ſmall Spaniſh bark from Cheripe, and bound up to Guiaquil, having on board 330 bags of meal; and 140 arrobas, that is, 35 hundred weight of ſugar; ſome onions, quince, and pomegranates: this, with the ſix barks, and two great ſhips ranſomed with the town of Guiaquil, makes fourteen prizes taken in thoſe ſeas. Captain Woodes Rogers, in his relation, blames captain Courtney for being in a hurry to quit the place, though he acknowleges, that his lieutenant Mr. Streton was ſhot by accident in his leg, his own piſtol going off unluckily, which rendered it neceſſary to ſend him inſtantly on board the ſmall craft; and that moſt of their men were grown careleſs, weak, and heartily weary of their new trade of being ſoldiers. One circumſtance he mentioned, which deſerves notice for its ſingularity. As he was marching out of the town, he happened to miſs one John Gabriel, a Dutchman, who ſerved in his own company; and took it for granted, that he was either taken or killed. But the poor fellow had a better time of it: he happened to take up his quarters in a certain houſe, where there was ſome excellent brandy, which the Dutchman attacked ſo often, that, at laſt, it laid him on the floor; and in this condition he was, when captain Rogers and his men quitted the place. A little after, the maſter of the houſe returned, and found the Dutchman ſtretched at his full length, and ſo faſt, that it was a difficult matter to diſtinguiſh whether he was dead or aſleep. The Spaniard reſolved to make the experiment; but, firſt of all, called in his neighbours, who adviſed him to ſecure the Dutchman's arms; which being done without any difficulty,

ty, they next raiſed him up, and ſet him on his feet, when, after a little tottering, he opened his eyes, and began to ſtare about him, being ſenſible that he was not aſleep, and not very well ſatisfied to find himſelf awake, and in ſuch company. His landlord, however, ſoon ſet his heart at reſt, by reſtoring him his arms, and adviſing him to make all the haſte he could to join his companions, who were not yet embarked. There did not need many entreaties to ſet the Dutchman forward; he moved with all the alacrity imaginable, and got ſafely aboard. If this ſtory be a little ſtrange, captain Rogers adds an obſervation that is ſtill ſtranger, which is, that, of all the men who landed on this occaſion, there was not a ſoul that drank a cup too much but this poor Dutchman; which, if true, the town of Guiaquil had the honour to be plundered by the ſobereſt ſet of people that ever were of their profeſſion. But it is now time to come to the forms of capitulation, which the Spaniards, as perſons moſt deeply intereſted in it, deſired might be drawn up in proper form: and ſo they were, with the omiſſion only of a ſingle circumſtance; viz. that the place was taken by force of arms, which the Spaniards inſiſted ſhould be particularly ſpecified, to demonſtrate that they had been beaten before they conſented to treat. To this the Engliſh very willingly yielded, which produced the following ſcheme of articles, which ſatisfied both parties, procuring one the money they wanted, and ſatisfying the other as to the point of honour; a thing no Spaniard ever willingly gave up.

Contract for the ranſom of the town of Guiaquil.

'WHereas the city of Guiaquil, lately in ſubjection to Philip V. king of Spain, is now taken by ſtorm, and in the poſſeſſion of the captains Thomas Dover, Woodes Rogers, and Stephen Courtney, commanding a body of her Majeſty of

'Great

'Great Britain's ſubjects; we the underwritten are 'content to become hoſtages for the ſaid city, and 'to continue in the cuſtody of the ſaid captains Tho-'mas Dover, Woodes Rogers, and Stephen Court-'ney, till 30,000 pieces of eight ſhall be paid to 'them for the ranſom of the ſaid city, two new ſhips, 'and ſix barks; during which time no hoſtility is to 'be committed on either ſide between this and Pu-'na; the ſaid ſum to be paid at Puna, in ſix days 'from the date hereof; and then the hoſtages to be 'diſcharged, and all the priſoners to be delivered 'immediately: otherwiſe the ſaid hoſtages do agree 'to remain priſoners, till the ſaid ſum is diſcharged 'in any other part of the world. In witneſs where-'of, we have voluntarily ſet our hands this 27th day 'of April, O. S. and the 7th of May, N. S. in the 'year of our Lord 1709.'

The plunder took here, excluſive of the ranſom received for the town, was very conſiderable; for we found there 230 bags of flour, beans, peaſe, and rice; fifteen jars of oil; 160 jars of other liquor; ſome cordage, iron-ware, and ſmall nails; with about four half jars of powder; about a ton of pitch and tar; a parcel of cloathing and neceſſaries; and, as I gueſs, about 1200 l. in plate, ear-rings, &c. and 150 bales of dry goods, four guns, and about 200 Spaniſh ordinary uſeleſs arms and muſquet-barrels; a few packs of indico, cocoa, and anotto; with about a ton of loaf-ſugar. We left abundance of goods in the town, beſide liquors of moſt ſorts, and ſea-ſtores, with ſe-veral warehouſes full of cocoa, divers ſhips on the ſtocks, and two new ſhips unrigged, upwards of 400 ton, which coſt above 80,000 crowns; and then lay at anchor before the town. We were alſo to deliver four barks aſhore, and leave two here to bring down the ranſom. By this it appears the Spaniards had a good bargain; but this ranſom was far better for us, than to burn what we could not carry off. The hoſ-tages informed us, that, during the treaty, 80,000

pieces of eight of the king's money were ſent out of the town, beſide their plate, jewels, and other things of the greateſt value; ſo that it is certain, that if we had landed at firſt, and given them no time at all, we had been much greater gainers than we were; and I have great reaſon to believe that we might, in that caſe, have made 200,000 pieces of eight in ready money, plate, and jewels; and yet the place had never been ſo poor for forty years paſt, as at the time we took it, there having been a fire about a year and an half before, which had burnt down beſt part of the town, and occaſioned a very great expence in rebuilding it. As it was, we thought ourſelves very happy; and all imaginable care was taken, that every man concerned in the expedition ſhould find his account in it; by which the expediency of the articles before-mentioned fully appeared: and our people were ſo perfectly ſatisfied with the uſage they received on this occaſion, that they expreſſed the greateſt alacrity in the execution of every enterprize that was afterward undertaken. To ſay the truth, this is a matter of the utmoſt importance with privateers, for, if the men have the leaſt jealouſy of their being ill-treated, ſuch diſputes ariſe, as do infinitely more miſchief than the value of what can be gotten by ſuch practices can repair: but to proceed.

When May 2 came, which was the laſt day appointed to wait for the money, and no boat arriving, we began to be very uneaſy. At length, however, a boat arrived, and brought us 22,000 pieces of eight; which we received; and diſpatched the boat back again, telling them we deſigned to leave the place the next morning, and would carry away the hoſtages if they did not come time enough to prevent it. We ſtaid, however, till the 6th; and then captain Courtney was reſolved to depart, being apprehenſive that we ſhould be attacked by the French and Spaniſh ſquadron. I endeavoured, but in vain, to convince him, that as yet we were not in any danger

ger of being attacked; becauſe it was not poſſible that the French and Spaniards could have received notice by this time at Lima, and have fitted out a force ſufficient to engage us. We ſailed however, and came to an anchor about four in the afternoon, a few leagues before point Arena.

The next morning, about two o'clock, we were preparing to ſail, when Mr. Morel, and a gentleman from Puna, related to our priſoners, brought us 3500 pieces of eight more towards the ranſom. This put us in ſo good an humour, that, in the afternoon, we diſcharged all our priſoners, except the Morels, the three hoſtages, and three or four more. The gentleman that came from Guiaquil had a gold chain, and ſome other things of value, with which he bought our bark the Beginning, which was now of no farther uſe. We gave the captain of the French ſhip three negro women; Mr. Morel another; and to moſt of the priſoners their wearing apparel; ſo that we parted very good friends. They told us, that one Don Pedro Cienfuegos, whom we put aſhore at Puna, and who was a man of great credit, had got together a conſiderable ſum of money, and deſigned to buy goods of us; for which purpoſe he would be down in twelve hours time: but the majority of our officers would not believe them; but conceiving this to be a ſcheme for detaining us till the French and Spaniſh fleet came, were in ſo much the greater hurry to get away. But, before we proceed, let me give you a ſhort deſcription of the town of Guiaquil, as we found it.

Guiaquil is divided into two parts, called the Old and the New Towns; both of them together conſiſting of about 500 houſes, joined by a long wooden bridge, for people to paſs over on foot, above half a mile in length, with ſome houſes on each ſide at a diſtance. It is ſituated in a low boggy ground, ſo dirty in winter, that without this bridge there would be ſcarce any going from one houſe to another: there

there is but one regular ſtreet along the river-ſide to the bridge, and from it along the Old Town. Before the church of St. Iago is a very handſome parade; but the church itſelf lies in ruins. There are, in all, four churches, viz. St. Iago, or St. James the Apoſtle, which, as I ſaid, is de royed; St. Auguſtin, St. Francis, and St. Dominic; and before this laſt another parade, with an half moon, on which ſix guns may be planted; but there were none when we came. Beſide theſe, there is a chapel, and there had been a church of St. Ignatius, belonging to the Jeſuits, but burnt down. They were all decently adorned with altars, carved work, pictures, an organ in that of St. Auguſtin; but the plate belonging to them was carried away, the prieſts and ſtudents being all gone into the woods: ſome of the houſes were of brick, particularly about the parade, before the fire; the reſt of timber, or bamboes ſplit, and ſome of them decently furniſhed. In the merchants ſtore-houſes there were great quantities of meal, brandy, ſugar, cloathing, cordage, and iron. The inhabitants had ſome calaſhes; but I know not of what uſe they could be, unleſs to carry them a ſtone's-throw to church; eſpecially in winter, all about being ſo foul and boggy, that there could be no road made for them. This moraſs ground was full of the largeſt toads I ever ſaw, ſome of them as big as an Engliſh two-penny loaf.

There were 2000 inhabitants of all ſorts, including Indians, Mulattoes, and blacks. This town is well ſituated for trade, and for building of ſhips, as lying fourteen leagues from point Arena, and ſeven from Puna, up a large river, which receives ſeveral ſmall ones that fall into it; with many villages and farm-houſes round about. The water is freſh for four leagues below it; and all along the banks grows abundance of mangroves and ſarſaparilla; and, on account of this latter, the water is accounted good for the French diſeaſe: however, when the floods come

come down from the mountains, the water is not reckoned ſo wholſome, by reaſon it brings along ſeveral poiſonous plants and fruits, among which is the Manchinilla venomous apple, whereof all birds that taſte die; and we ſaw hundreds of them dead on the water whilſt we were there. They have great plenty of beeves, goats, ſheep, hens, ducks, Muſcovy ducks, and ſome ſorts unknown to us in England; as alſo horſes, and great numbers of carrion-crows, which the Spaniards will not ſuffer to be killed, preſerving them to devour all carrion. The ſhips here are built under ſheds, to ſhelter the men from the ſun. The town is governed by a corregidor, being the ſupreme magiſtrate appointed by the king. The accounts which have been given of this place by the French buccaneers are ſo falſe, that there is not the leaſt degree of truth in them; inſomuch that, from their deſcriptions, it ſcarce appears to be the ſame place, had they not left infamous marks of their having been here: for when they took the town of Guiaquil, about twenty-two years ago, they diſcovered little or no bravery in the attack, (though they loſt a great many men) and committed a deal of barbarity and murder after they had the place in their power, which was above a month here and at Puna. The ſeaſons here are improperly called winter and ſummer: the winter is reckoned from the beginning of December to the laſt of May; and all that ſeaſon is ſultry hot, wet, and unhealthy: from the latter end of May to December is ſerene, dry, and healthy, but not ſo violently hot as what they call winter. Their cocoa is ripe, and moſtly gathered between June and Auguſt; and of the other fruits natural to thoſe climates, ſome are ripe, and others green, all the year. But, as our priſoners furniſhed us with a very full and exact account of all the adjacent country dependent on the government of Guiaquil, I have judged it requiſite to add to this account of the town, a view likewiſe of the province, that the reader may perfectly apprehend

hend the condition of the Spaniſh inhabitants therein; and judge from thence, as from a ſample, of the ſtate of this great empire of Peru, at the time that we were thus engaged in attacking its ports and coaſt; where we acted as became men who had legal commiſſions, and did nothing that was not juſtified by the law of arms, which, in time of war, is the law of nations.

The city or town of Guiaquil is the metropolis of a province of that name in Peru, governed by a preſident, with five or ſix oiodors, which make a royal Audiencia, or chief court of Judicature, accountable only to the viceroy in military affairs; every province has a government of the ſame nature. The governors are commonly appointed, or, to ſpeak more properly, purchaſe their offices, in Old Spain for life, or good behaviour; and in caſe any die or miſbehave themſelves, the viceroy may name another during his time, which ought to be but five years; but ſometimes he gets theſe offices of his own placing confirmed by an order from Spain, which is a conſiderable part of the viceroy's unknown profits. The late viceroy continued fourteen years, ſeveral new ones having died by the way. The king of Spain himſelf ſcarcely lives in more ſplendor than his viceroy in the city of Lima, where the chief courts of judicature are kept, and appeals are brought thither from all courts and provinces of this extenſive kingdom. The trade to and from Mexico is forbidden here, under the ſevereſt penalty; eſpecially tranſporting quickſilver from Peru thither, becauſe quantities are brought from Old Spain, which is impoſed on the refiners at great rates. Here are many ſhips employed coaſting in this kingdom; but a trade is ſo ſeverely prohibited between them and Mexico, that all the commodities, with ſilver and gold in returns, may have little other circulation in theſe vaſt countries, but by the flota and galleons to and from Old Spain. Yet, notwithſtanding the ſeverity uſed againſt private traders by the viceroys

viceroys and corregidors, there are ſome who run the riſk. Theſe have no mercy ſhewn them if detected, all trade being carried on in the king's name, though his majeſty has little or no ſhare in it.

All Engliſh and Dutch goods, except what comes by the galleons, are prohibited; ſo that private traders, after they have by ſtealth purchaſed them in the North Seas, muſt vend them in like manner all over Peru. And if the wholeſale merchants have not good certificates from the commerce of Seville, that their commodities come by the flota or galleons; whenever the goods are queſtioned, they muſt diſcover them, for fear of puniſhment; unleſs they have a good intereſt in the viceroy, which coſts dear to purchaſe and preſerve: ſo that the trader makes little profit but where the chief officers have a feeling. Yet though thoſe mercenary viceroys are ſo ſevere on others, they themſelves employ the corregidors to negotiate a trade for them by a third hand, which cannot be done to the purpoſe without being publicly known; ſo that ſhips are conſtantly employed on their account, and carry quick-ſilver, and all manner of prohibited goods to and from Mexico, out of bye-ports. Thus, being their own judges, they get vaſt eſtates, and ſtop all complaints in Old Spain by bribes. The goods they trade for have a free paſſage, and ſail through the continent; whilſt others, if they do but offer at it, are puniſhed. Their other ways of getting money unjuſtly are too many; but in ſhort, in my opinion, there is no country naturally more rich, nor any people more terribly oppreſſed.

The Spaniards ſay, that a viceroy, after purchaſing his place with all that he has, and quitting old Spain as poor as Job, comes hither like an hungry lion, to devour all that he can; and that every officer under him in the provinces (who are ten times more than neceſſary) are his jackals to procure prey for him, that they may have a ſhare of it themſelves.

The province abounds with ſeveral ſorts of good timber, which makes it the chief country of Peru for building and repairing of ſhips; there are ſeldom leſs than ſix or ſeven at a time on the ſtocks before the city of Guiaquil. The chief commodity this city, and its chief province afford, is cocoa, which is ſo plentiful as to ſupply moſt places of the South Sea; they ſay, there is never leſs exported in a year than 30,000 cargaus, each cargau 81 pound weight, and ſometimes double the quantity: it was purchaſed generally at half a rial per pound, but now much cheaper, ſo that the cargau may be bought for two pieces of eight and a half. Their coaſting trade is for ſalt and ſalt-fiſh from point Santa Helena, and moſt vended at Quito, and other diſtant places within land: a vaſt quantity of timber is laden here for Truxillo, Chana, Lima, and other ſea ports, where it is ſcarce. It pays a great freight, and is a profitable trade. They export alſo from hence, rice, cotton, and ſome dried jerked beef. There are no mines of ſilver or gold in this province, but plenty of all ſorts of cattle, and very cheap, eſpecially on the iſland Puna, where we ſupplied ourſelves with what we could conveniently. Here is no other corn but Indian; ſo that all their flour is brought from Truxillo, Cheripe, and other places in the windward parts: it blows here always ſoutherly. They are alſo ſupplied with ſeveral ſorts of woollen cloth and very ſtrong good bays made at Quito. Their wines, brandy, oil, olives, and ſugar, &c. come from Piſcola, Naica, and other places to windward: all ſorts of European goods come hither from Panama, whither they are brought over land from Porto-Bello out of the North Seas: ſo that the number of ſhips that come and go from hence, without including coaſters, are no leſs than forty ſail every year; which ſhews that the port of Guiaquil is no mean place of trade in this part of the world. A market is alſo kept on bark-logs and boats in the river, every

every day, before the town, with all that the country affords, in great plenty. The other towns of the province are governed by lieutenants, deputed by the corregidor; above half of them border on the ſame river, and its branches; ſo that they can join theſe of the capital in two tides, though at ſeveral leagues diſtance. Few of thoſe priſoners that fell into our hands were healthy and ſound; near half of the Spaniards diſcovered publicly to our doctors their malady, in order to get phyſic from them againſt the French diſeaſe, of which they make very light. All the Spaniards allow, that this rich country is not a tenth peopled, nor are half the Indians, far within land, civilized; though they affirm their king has, in the Weſt Indies, more ſubjects of ſeveral colours, than in all Spain, or the reſt of his dominions in Europe; which may be true.

On May 11, we had a ſtrong gale at ſouth ſouth-weſt. We bore away for the Gallopagos iſlands; and in a very melancholy condition we were: for we had upwards of twenty men taken ill on board the Duke, and near fifty on board our conſort, ſeized with a malignant fever, contracted, as I ſuppoſe, at Guiaquil, where I was informed, that about a month or five weeks before we took it, a contagious diſeaſe which reigned there, ſwept off ten or twelve perſons every day for a conſiderable time. So that the floors of all the churches (which are their uſual burial-places) were filled ſo faſt, that they were obliged to dig a large deep hole, of about a rood ſquare, cloſe by the great church, where I kept guard; and this hole was almoſt filled with bodies half-putrified The mortality was ſo very great, that many of the people had left the town; and our lying ſo long in the church, ſurrounded with ſuch unwholſome ſcents, was enough to infect us too. About this time captain Courtney was taken ill; and captain Dover went on board to preſcribe for him. In twenty-four hours we had fifty

men down, and the Ducheſs upwards of ſeventy; and in the following twenty-four hours, there were ten men more down in each ſhip.

On the 17th we diſcovered land; and on the 18th, at day-break, we were within four leagues of two large iſlands, almoſt joining together, having paſſed the other that we ſaw yeſterday. We ſent our boat aſhore to look for water, and agreed with our conſort where to meet, in caſe of ſeparation. They turned toward the windward, and left us to try this iſland for water. All our prizes were to ſtay near us under ſail, by a remarkable rock. But, in the afternoon, the boat returned with a melancholy account, that no water was to be found, the prizes we expected lying to windward for us by the rock, about two leagues off ſhore; but Mr. Hatley in a bark, and the Havre de Grace turned to windward, after our conſort the Ducheſs; ſo that only the galleon, and the bark that Mr. Selkirk was in, ſtaid for us. We kept plying to windward all night, with a light out; which they followed. At five in the morning we ſent our boat aſhore again, to make a further ſearch in this iſland for water. In the evening the boat returned, and reported that there was no water to be found, though the people went three or four miles up into the country. They likewiſe told me, that the iſland is nothing but looſe rocks like cinders, very rotten and heavy; and the earth ſo parched that it will not bear a man, but breaks into holes under his feet. This makes me ſuppoſe there has been a volcano here: for though there is much ſhrubby wood, and ſome greens on it; yet there is not the leaſt ſign of water, nor is it poſſible that any can be contained on ſuch a ſurface. In ſhort, we found theſe iſlands very little anſwered either our expectations, or the deſcriptions we had of them: and our loſs of Mr. Hatley, who, with five of our men, two Spaniſh priſoners, and three negroes, loſt us in a bark, where they were provided only with water for two days, and ſcarce any other neceſſaries,

neceſſaries, together with many unlucky accidents, made us wiſh ourſelves from among theſe iſlands. Therefore, on May 26, captain Dover and I went on board the Ducheſs, where, after a conſultation, it was reſolved to run in for the iſland Plata to water, and ſo come off again, for fear of meeting with two French ſhips, one of ſixty, and the other of forty-ſix guns, and the Spaniſh man of war, who, we were adviſed, would be ſuddenly in ſearch of us. But, if we could find no water in any of thoſe iſlands going in, we deſigned to fit our ſhips there, and not go near the main, our ſhips being out of order, and our men ſickly and weak, and ſeveral alſo having been buried. We ſailed on the 27th; and, on the 30th, we held another council on board the Ducheſs, where it was agreed to go firſt to Gorgona, to ſee if there were any Engliſh ſhips there, and afterward to Mangla, Malaga, or Madulinar, where are ſome Indians, enemies to the Spaniards, who, as the pilots informed us, ſeldom came thither, nor could thence get intelligence of us; and if we could trade with the Indians, might have ſwine and fowls, good bananas, plantains, and other refreſhments.

In this courſe, the Ducheſs took a prize, which proved to be a veſſel of burden of ninety ton, bound from Panama to Guiaquil, called the St. Thomas de Villa Nova, Juan Navarro Navaret commander. There were about forty people aboard, including eleven negro ſlaves; but little of European goods, except ſome iron and cloth. The next we made the iſland of Gorgona; and, on the 8th, our boats brought in another prize, which was a ſmall bark, of about fifteen tons, called the Golden Sun. She belonged to a creek on the main, and was bound for Guiaquil, Andros Enriguis maſter, with ten Spaniards and Indians, and ſome negroes; no cargo, but a very little gold-duſt, and a large gold chain; together about 500 l. value, which were ſecured aboard the Ducheſs. On June 19, in the evening, there was a con-

ſultation on board the ſhip above-mentioned, at which ſome of my officers and captain Dover aſſiſted. Being diſcompoſed, I was not with them; but reſolved to act in conſortſhip, according to their agreement. After they had examined the priſoners, they reſolved to go to Malaga, an iſland which had a road, where we deſigned to leave our ſhips, and, with our boats, row up the river for the rich gold mine of Barbacore, called alſo by the Spaniards, the Mines of St. Juan, from a village about two tides up the river of that name. There we deſigned to ſurprize canoes, as fitter than our boats to go againſt the ſtream; for this time of the year being ſubject to great rains, which make a ſtrong freſh down the river, our pilot, an old Spaniard, did not propoſe to get up to the mines in leſs than twelve days. I had often ſuſpected his knowledge; but, according to their reſolutions on board the Ducheſs, we made ſail about twelve o'clock that night, and ſteered north-eaſt for the place.

In the morning, I diſcourſed captain Morel, as I had done ſeveral times before, and all the reſt of the priſoners, who agreed, that this iſland called Malaga was an unfrequented place, and not fit for ſhips, that ever they heard of. I had alſo two priſoners on board, that were taken in the laſt prize, who had been at the ſaid iſland very lately. I examined them ſeparately, and they agreed that a ſhip could not be ſafe there; and that the place being ſo narrow, it was impoſſible to get in but with the tide; which ran very ſtrong; that the entrance was full of ſhoals, and had not water enough but at ſpring-tides, for our ſhips to get out or in: beſide that, if a ſhip gets looſe, (as we muſt moor head and ſtern) ſhe would turn all a-drift, and very much endanger the whole. They added, that the river was ſo narrow, before we could get to the mines, that the Indians and Spaniards might fell trees acroſs, and cut off our retreat, there being thick woods on the banks of the river, from whence the Indians would gall us with their poiſoned arrows; for

thoſe

thoſe about the mines were at amity with the Spaniards, and a bold and very numerous people.

Upon this information, I was ſurpriſed, that the council had not informed themſelves better, before they reſolved on going to this place; and immediately ſent Mr. White our linguiſt, with the two priſoners, on board the Ducheſs, to undeceive captain Courtney, and his officers, and to deſire his company, with ſome of the reſt, without loſs of time, that we might agree how to act for our ſafety and intereſt, and not to proceed farther on this hazardous enterprize. On a ſolemn conſultation, this was accordingly reſolved; and, in compliance of that reſolution, we came back to Gorgona, our condition being ſo bad at this juncture, that, if we had been attacked, we ſhould ſcarce have been in a condition to have defended ourſelves.

On the 13th of June, about four in the morning, we anchored in forty fathom water, and reſolved to careen the Ducheſs firſt, and then the Duke: our ſick we removed aboard the galleon, and the ſick officers on board the Havre de Grace, where they had all the conveniencies we could afford them. We likewiſe ſet up a tent aſhore for the uſe of the armourer, and cooper's crew, and directed a place to be cleared for our ſick mens tents; all which was performed with ſuch diligence, that, by the 28th, we got our proviſions on board, and mounted all our guns: having in fourteen days caulked our ſhips all round, careened, rigged, and ſtowed them again both fit for the ſea; which was great diſpatch, conſidering what we had to do was in an open place, with few carpenters, and void of the uſual conveniencies for careening. The Spaniards, our priſoners, being very dilatory ſailors, were amazed at our expedition; and told us, they uſually take ſix weeks, or two months, to careen one of the king's ſhips at Lima, where they are provided with all neceſſaries, and account it good diſpatch. On the 29th, we ſet up a

tent on ſhore for the ſick, who were, even by this time, much better than when we came to the iſland, notwithſtanding the Spaniards repreſented it as extremely ſick and unwholſome; but the bare lying aſhore, having their doctors with them, and an opportunity of walking about when they grew a little better, had ſo good an effect, that, while our ſound men were employed in fitting our ſhips for ſea, our ſick men gathered ſtrength enough to return to their duty. Our Spaniſh priſoners went into the woods with us, ſhewed us timber that was proper to be cut, and gave us every other kind of aſſiſtance in their power. We now ſet out ground for a rope-yard, erected a tent for a ſmith, another for a block, the third for a ſail-maker; and each had his crew to act under him, for the better diſpatch of buſineſs. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that theſe people were all excellent in their profeſſions; but, however, they made a ſhift to carry on things very well for our work, neceſſity and practice having taught them many reſources, which the ableſt man, in their branches of buſineſs, would never have thought of, or, perhaps, could have been brought to believe practicable, if they had been told of them by others.

By this method of acting, we had ſettled a plantation, on the little iſland of Gorgona; and, as every officer had his charge, and ſurveyed a particular ſort of artizans, we had buſineſs enough upon our hands, and were all thoroughly and pleaſantly employed. Our Spaniſh priſoners looked on with amazement at our working from break of day till night in that climate, and in that manner; and, what moſt of all ſurpriſed them, was our finding out ſome new expedient, when preſſed by new difficulties, and when, in the judgment of our Spaniards, it was impoſſible for us to proceed any further; ſo that our diligence and ſucceſs raiſed our credit with them prodigiouſly. The natives of Old Spain are accounted

but

but ordinary mariners; but here they are much worſe, all the prizes we took being rather cobbled, than fitted out for the ſea; ſo that, had they ſuch weather as we often meet with in the European ſeas in winter, they could ſcarce ever reach a port again.

While we were here, we agreed together to fit out the Havre de Grace with twenty guns, and put men out of each ſhip aboard her under captain Cooke's command, reſolving to carry her home with us, and to make a third ſhip to cruiſe in our company whilſt we were in theſe ſeas. This was the great work on which we were employed from the 29th of June to the 9th of July, when ſhe was completely finiſhed; and we gave her the name of the Marquis, having provided a good entertainment: we ſaluted each of the other ſhips with three huzzas from on board her, diſtributed liquor among the company, drank her majeſty's and our owners healths, and to our own ſucceſs, in conjunction with our new conſort. We ſoon after ſent two of our main-deck guns on board the Marquis; the Ducheſs did the like; which, with four taken at Guiaquil, and twelve that were in the ſhip, made twenty very good ones; the carriages all new, or ſo well repaired, that they were as good and ſtrong, as if mounted in England. The next thing to be conſidered was, how to provide her with men: this was very ſoon ſettled; for I agreed to put thirty-five on board her, and captain Courtney twenty-ſix, ſo that her complement was ſixty-one white men, and twenty negroes, captain Edward Cooke, commander, and our ſecond lieutenant, Mr. Charles Pope, to command under him. We agreed, that the captain, with his officers and men, ſhould have equal wages with ours in the like poſts, to encourage them.

The next thing of conſequence was to get rid of our priſoners, who began to be a burden upon us, and of no uſe at all. It was therefore determined, that they ſhould be all ſet aſhore, after trying every method poſſible to engage them in a ſcheme for trading

trading with us. We had ſeveral times diſcourſed the two Morells, and Don Antonio, about ranſoming the goods, and were in hopes of ſelling them to advantage, but deferred coming to particulars till now; becauſe we plainly ſaw, that unleſs they could have the cargoes under a quarter value, they would not deal with us. I propoſed going to Panama, and lying ſix days as near it as they pleaſed, till they brought the money we ſhould agree for, at a moderate rate, provided they left hoſtages on board us, whom, on failure, we would carry to England. To this they would have agreed, provided we would take 60,000 pieces of eight for all the prize-goods. Then I propoſed their ranſoming the galleon, and putting a great part of the goods aboard her, provided one of thoſe three, and another they could procure, would be hoſtages for the ſum. They anſwered, that neither of them would go hoſtage to England for the world. I mentioned delivering the galleon and cargo to them here, provided two of them would be hoſtages to pay us the money at any other place but Panama or Lima, in ſix days, if they would give us 120,000 pieces of eight, being the loweſt price we would take for all the prizes and goods, negroes, &c. They told us, that trading with ſtrangers, eſpecially the Engliſh and Dutch, was ſo ſtrictly prohibited in thoſe ſeas, that they muſt give more than the prime coſt of the goods in bribes, to get a licence to deal with us; ſo that they could not aſſure us of payment, unleſs we ſold the goods very cheap: therefore, not finding it worth our time, and knowing the danger we muſt run in treating with them, we deſiſted, and ordered them all aſhore, ſtill hoping this would compel the Morells and Navarre to get money for us, and prevent our burning the ſhips we could not carry away. Some of our people were for keeping ſeveral others when they were firſt taken, but they were over-ruled: though now every body ſeemed to confeſs, that had been a better method,

method, becauſe it would have given us a greater opportunity of trading, and of ridding our ſhips of thoſe goods which were of no value to us here, and ſerved only to hinder our ſailing.

But to proceed: on the 10th of July, we put ſeventy-two priſoners on board the bark, and, with our two pinnaces, ſhe ſailed for the main. On the 11th in the morning, theſe veſſels returned from landing our priſoners, and brought off ſeven ſmall black cattle, twelve hogs, and ſix goats, ſome limes and plantains, which were very welcome to us. They met with little elſe of value in the village they were at; and, the others being far up the river, they did not think it worth while to viſit them. The country where they landed was ſo poor, that our men gave the priſoners five negroes, ſome bays, nails, &c. to purchaſe themſelves ſubſiſtence. The inhabitants aſhore had notice of our taking Guiaquil, and were jealous of our being at this iſland, becauſe they heard our guns when we fired, in order to ſcale them after careening. According to the report of our people, our priſoners were not extremely well pleaſed with the change of their ſituation, or even with the recovery of liberty, in ſuch a place; and ſeemed to regret the advantages they enjoyed on board us.

To ſay the truth of the matter, I verily believe, that Don Antonio, the Fleming, ſig. Navarre, and the Morells, did not expect to part with us ſo ſuddenly; but, by continuing with us, and knowing we could not carry away all the prizes and goods, they hoped we ſhould of courſe have freely given them what we could not keep. They begged we would delay burning the ſhips, and promiſed to raiſe what money they could, and return within the time to ſatisfy us. One of the chief priſoners we now parted with, was Don Juan Cordoſo, deſigned governor of Baldivia, a briſk man, of about thirty-five years of age: he had ſerved as a colonel in Spain, had the misfortune to be taken in the north ſeas by an Engliſh

liſh privateer near Porto-Bello, and carried to Jamaica, from whence he was ſent back to Porto-Bello. He complained heavily of the uſage he met with from the Jamaica privateer; but we parted very good friends, and he returned us hearty thanks, and a ſtone ring for a preſent to one of the Ducheſs's lieutenants, that had lent him his cabin while he was ſick on board. We allowed liberty of conſcience on board our floating commonwealth to our priſoners; for, there being a prieſt in each ſhip, they had the great cabin for their maſs, whilſt we uſed the church of England ſervice over them on the quarter-deck.

On the 15th of June, came on board, in a ſmall canoe, one Michael Kendall, a free negro of Jamaica, who had lived for ſome time as a ſlave in the village our people had plundered: he happened not to be there then; but, as ſoon as he had an account of it, he fairly ventured his life to get away to us. From him we received the following remarkable account of an attempt made upon the gold mines, in which he was himſelf concerned. His relation was to this effect: That, when war was declared at Jamaica, he embarqued under the command of one captain Edward Roberts, who was joined in commiſſion from the governor of Jamaica, with the captains Raſh, Golding, and Pilkington. They had 106 men, and deſigned to attempt the mines of Iago, at the bottom of the gulph of Darien. There were more commanders and men came out with them, but did not join in this deſign. They had been about five months out, when they got near the mines undiſcovered. They ſailed fifteen days up the river in canoes, and travelled ten days by land afterward: by this time, the Spaniards and Indians, being alarmed, laid ambuſcades, and ſhot many of them. The enemy having aſſembled at leaſt 500 men, and the Engliſh being diminiſhed to about ſixty, including the wounded, the Spaniards ſent them a flag of truce, and offered them their lives, after a ſmall ſkirmiſh, wherein the Engliſh

loſt four, and the enemies about twelve men. The Engliſh, being in want of proviſions, quite tired out, and not knowing their way back, agreed to deliver their arms, on condition to be uſed as priſoners of war. Having thus yielded, the Spaniards and Indians carried them in canoes three days up the river that leads to the ſame mines they deſigned to attempt, treated them very well, and gave them the ſame food that they eat themſelves. But the fourth day, when they came to a town beyond the mines, and thought all danger had been paſt, an order came from the chief Spaniſh officer to cut them all off, which the Indians and Spaniſh troops did, as thoſe poor diſarmed wretches ſat at victuals; ſo that in this barbarous manner they were all maſſacred in a few minutes, except a Scots, a French, and an Engliſh boy, with twelve free negroes, which, at the interceſſion of a prieſt, they kept for ſlaves.

This man, being one of them, happened to be ſold firſt to the mines, where, he ſays, he cleared at leaſt three pieces of eight a day for his maſter; and from thence he was ſold to this place. We took notice of this to the Morells, who came the next morning with money to ranſom what they could of us, putting them in mind of the different treatment they had from us, and how grateful they ought to be for it; which they ſeemed very readily to acknowledge, and, indeed, behaved, upon all occaſions, with much honour. We ſold them good bargains, 'tis true; but, on the other hand, they ran great hazards in trading with us, and truſted us always with their perſons and money, at the ſame time that we had the effects in our hands they came to purchaſe.

On the 1ſt of Auguſt, the officers we appointed to appraiſe the plunder, met on board the galleon, and valued the clothing, in order to divide it amongſt the officers and men of each, according to their reſpective ſhares. On the 3d in the afternoon, they made an end of appraiſing the cloths, at a very low rate, amounting

amounting to four hundred pounds; and the ſilver-hilted ſwords, buckles, ſnuff-boxes, buttons, and ſilver plate in uſe aboard every prize we took, and allowed to be plunder, at four ſhillings and ſixpence per piece of eight, amounted to 743l. 15 s. beſides 3 lb. 12 oz. which was in rings, gold ſnuff-boxes, ear-rings, and gold chains, taken about priſoners. This I believe an exact account.

Early next morning we had like to have had a mutiny amongſt our men: the ſteward told me, that ſeveral of them had laſt night made a private agreement; and that he heard ſome ringleaders, by way of encouragement, boaſt to the reſt, that ſixty men had already ſigned the paper. Not knowing what this combination meant, or how it was deſigned, I ſent for the chief officers into the cabin, where we armed ourſelves, ſecured two of thoſe mutinous fellows, and preſently ſeized two others: the fellow that wrote the paper we put in irons: by this time, all hands were upon deck, and we had got their agreement from thoſe who were in the cabin: the purport of which was, to oblige themſelves not to take their plunder, nor to move from thence, till they had juſtice done them, as they termed it.

There being ſo many concerned in this deſign, the captains Dover and Fry deſired I would diſcharge thoſe in confinement, upon their aſking pardon, and faithfully promiſing never to be guilty of the like, or any other combination, again. I uſed all the arguments I could offer, ſhewed them the danger and folly of combinations, and exhorted them to believe, they would have juſtice done them in England, ſhould any thing ſeem uneaſy to them now, or in the whole courſe of the voyage. With theſe, and other healing arguments, all appeared eaſy and quiet, and every man ſeemed willing to ſtand to what had been done, provided the gentlemen, that were officers, and not ſailors amongſt us, had not ſuch large ſhares, which they alledged were unreaſonable; and that they could not poſſibly,

poſſibly, in a privateer, deſerve what they were allowed, in proportion to the ſhip's company. This we did in part yield to, in order to appeaſe theſe malecontents; for diſputes about plunder are the common occaſion of privateers quarrelling amongſt themſelves, and ruining their voyages. Another paper was drawn up, for every man to ſwear what cloaths, goods, &c. he had received of the agents, and to reſtore whatever he had taken without the agents knowledge, in order to a juſt diſtribution of the plunder; and every one was to oblige himſelf in a penalty of twenty ſhillings for every ſhilling value that ſhould be found about him concealed, beſides the former penalty agreed on, of loſing his ſhare of any prize or purchaſe, for concealing above the value of half a piece of eight. And, for the encouragement of diſcoveries, the informer was to have half the penalty, and the protection of the commander. This paper was objected to by ſeveral of the officers, who inſiſted, that there ought to be a greater latitude allowed them to advantage themſelves, ſince they had ventured their lives thither on ſo difficult an undertaking. This made us defer ſigning it till a better opportunity; for, unleſs ſuch agreements as theſe had been conſtantly promoted, as occaſion required, the temptation of intereſt would have made us fall into irrecoverable confuſions aboard, which generally end in a ſeparation, or worſe.

Some time after this, I propoſed another thing, which, I thought, would prove very advantageous for our owners, and the common intereſt; and this was, the ſending captain Cooke, in the Marquis, with a cargo of our prize-goods, to the Braſils; which commiſſion he would have executed. By this I propoſed to ſave our proviſions, ſince he would not have required any great ſtock for that voyage, and, conſequently, might have remained longer in the South Seas. In the next place, I propoſed profit; for theſe goods would have come to an extraordinary market at

the Braſils, and have yielded twice or thrice as much as we could make of them any other way: and, laſtly, after ſecuring, in this manner, ſo conſiderable an advantage on our voyage, as we muſt have reaped from the produce of theſe goods, our ſhips had been ſufficiently provided for attacking the Acapulco ſhip. But my conſorts did not underſtand, or at leaſt would not approve, theſe reaſons; and ſo the project fell to the ground, which they, however, repented afterward, when it was too late.

On the 7th, we gave ſig. Morell and Navarre their ſhips, and all the goods we could not carry away, for what money our agents received of them. As for the effects in the bark, we agreed for 12,000 pieces of eight, which, with 3000 there remained of the old debt for the ranſom of Guiaquil, made 15,000 in the whole, and which were to be brought in twelve days. Captain Cooke valued the money now on board, for the uſe of the owners, 20,000 pounds, and the goods at 60,000 pounds. We gave theſe gentlemen a paper, which might ſerve to protect them, in caſe they fell into the hands of the Spaniards; and we intended to have taken an acknowledgment under their hands, as to the particulars of the bargain; but the bark ſailed away from us in the night.

I cannot help taking notice here of the honourable behaviour of our crew during the time theſe priſoners were on board, in order to ſhew how much they regarded the credit of their commiſſion, and of their country. Amongſt our priſoners taken on board ſig. Navarre's ſhip from Panama, there was a gentlewoman, and her family; her eldeſt daughter, a pretty young woman, of about eighteen, was newly married, and had her huſband with her. We aſſigned them the great cabin aboard the galleon; and none were ſuffered to intrude amongſt them, or to ſeparate their company: yet the huſband (I was told) ſhewed marks of jealouſy, the Spaniards epidemic diſeaſe. But, I hope, he had not the leaſt reaſon for it amongſt us.

We

We had notice theſe ladies had concealed treaſure about them, and ordered a female negro, that we took, and who ſpoke Engliſh, to ſearch them narrowly; and ſhe found ſome gold chains, and other things, cunningly hid under their cloaths. We gave them moſt of their wearing-apparel and neceſſaries, with three female mulatto ſlaves, and parted very friendly. They confeſſed to our people, who put them on ſhore, that we had been much civiller than they did expect, or believed their countrymen would have been in the like caſe; and ſent back the huſband with gold, to purchaſe ſome goods and two ſlaves of us.

Gorgona lies in 3° north latitude, about ſix leagues from the main, and is about 3 leagues in length, but narrow. At a diſtance it appears like three hills. It is full of wood and tall trees, among them is the Palma Maria, of which the Spaniards make maſts, and from it a balſam iſſues, that is eſteemed efficacious in ſeveral diſeaſes. It has a variety of trees and plants peculiar to theſe hot climates. The animals found here are monkeys, Guinea-pigs, hares, lizards, and lion-lizards, which change their colours, and are fine creatures.

Auguſt 11, we ſailed, and the next morning came up the bark which created ſo much uneaſineſs; and put Mr. Selkirk and his crew on board her. As our ſhips were but very thinly manned, and there was likely to be more actions than ſince we had been in theſe ſeas, it was therefore thought adviſeable to recruit a little; which, conſidering where we were, will ſeem a little extraordinary: but the myſtery will be very ſoon explained, by my telling the reader, that, on the 16th, we muſtered the negroes on board the Duke, and found them thirty-five, ſtrong able fellows, fit for ſervice. When they were together, I told them, that, if they would behave bravely, and act faithfully, their ſlavery was at an end; on which thirty-two of them engaged, and deſired they might be improved in the uſe of arms, which ſome of them

already underſtood; adding, that, if I would allow them arms and powder, theſe would teach the reſt. Upon this, I made Michael Kendall, the Jamaica free negro, who deſerted from the Spaniards to us at Gorgona, their leader; and charged him to be continually exerciſing them, becauſe I did not know how ſoon we might meet with an enemy. I took down the names of thoſe that had any; and thoſe that wanted, I beſtowed names on them; and, to confirm our contract, I made them drink a dram all round, to our good ſucceſs. At the ſame time, I gave them bays for cloaths; and told them, they muſt look upon themſelves as Engliſhmen, and no more as negro ſlaves to the Spaniards; at which they expreſſed themſelves highly pleaſed.

The next morning, we ſaw a ſail; and both the Ducheſs and we gave chace, and took her in an hour's time. She was a veſſel of ſeventy tons, and had four-and-twenty negroes, men and women, in her. After this, we ſtood over to the bay of Jecames, where the Indians are free; and, with much-ado, by the help of a prieſt, entered on trade with them. On the 27th, we began to heel and clean our ſhips bottoms; and ſent ſeveral of our beſt ſailors, and two carpenters, to aſſiſt the Marquis aſhore. Our men kept one half at arms, while the reſt loaded the boats, leſt the Indians, who are generally treacherous, ſhould watch an opportunity to fall on them. Our people, that came off the ſhore, took particular notice, that the red paint, with which the Indians were firſt daubed, was a declaration of war; and, after we had amicably treated with them, they rubbed it off; but ſtill kept their arms. We ſent them three large wooden Spaniſh ſaints, that we had out of Morell's ſhip, to adorn their church; which they accounted a great preſent: and I ſent a feathered cap to the chief Indian's wife; which was likewiſe very well accepted: and I had a preſent of bows and arrows in requital. In the mean time, our linguiſt and priſoner managed

their

their buſineſs beyond expectation, ſelling very ordinary bays at one piece of eight and an half per yard, and other things in proportion; ſo that we had proviſions very cheap.

On September 1, we ſailed from thence; and, on the 6th, captain Courtney, captain Cooke, and captain Dampier, dined on board of me, when captain Cooke complained of his ſhip being crank; and that we need not have tacked ſo near the ſhore, ſince we might eaſily have fetched the Gallapagos without tacking. All agreed to this, except our pilot, Dampier, who was poſitive of ſeeing other lands about 100 or 110 leagues from the main, under the equinox. He told us, he was at them formerly, and has deſcribed them in one of his voyages; and that thoſe iſlands we were at, lay to the weſt of them: but we judged him miſtaken, or we had ſeen them in the laſt runs to and from theſe iſlands. On the 8th, we ran over and beyond where our pilot affirmed the iſlands were; ſo that we all agreed, that the iſlands he was at, when a bucanneering, could be no other, but thoſe we were at, and were going to now, the neareſt part of them lying 165 leagues to the weſtward of the main-land.

The ſame day, we made one of the Gallapagos iſlands; and, the next day, hoiſted out our pinnace: captain Dover and Mr. Glendall went in for the ſhore. The Ducheſs's pinnace returned very ſoon, laden with turtles. In the mean time, we came to an anchor in about thirty fathom water, about two miles off ſhore, being rocky at bottom. In letting go the anchor, the buoy-rope was immediately cut off, and our ſhip drove; ſo that we thought our cable was alſo cut: but, after driving about half a mile, the ſhip rode very well. We ſent our yawl and ſome men aſhore, to turn ſome turtles in the night: but to no purpoſe; becauſe we afterward found, they only came aſhore in the day.

On the 13th, the Ducheſs's people having informed us where they got their land turtles, I ſent our pinnace, which, at night, returned with thirty-ſeven, and ſome ſalt they found in a pond; and the yawl brought twenty ſea turtles: ſo that we were very full of them. Some of the largeſt of the land turtles are about 100 pounds weight; and thoſe of the ſea upwards of 400. The land turtles laid eggs on our deck. Our men brought ſome from the ſhore, about the bigneſs of a gooſe's egg, white, with a large thick ſhell, exactly round.

Theſe creatures are the uglieſt in nature; the ſhell not unlike the top of an old hackney-coach, as black as jet; and ſo is the outſide ſkin, but ſhrivelled, and very rough. The legs and neck are long, and about the bigneſs of a man's wriſt; and they have club-feet, as big as one's fiſt, ſhaped much like thoſe of an elephant, with five thick nails on the fore-feet, and but four behind; and the head little, and viſage ſmall, like ſnakes; and look very old and black. When at firſt ſurpriſed, they ſhrink their neck, head, and legs, under their ſhell. Two of our men, with lieutentant Stratton, and the trumpeter of the Ducheſs, affirm they ſaw vaſt large ones of this ſort, about four feet high. They mounted two men on the back of one of them, which, with its uſual ſlow pace, carried them, and never regarded the weight. They ſuppoſed this could not weigh leſs than 700 lb. I do not affect giving relations of ſtrange creatures, ſo frequently done by others; but where an uncommon creature falls in my way, I cannot omit it. The Spaniards tell us, they know of none elſewhere in theſe ſeas; but they are common in Braſil.

On the 15th, we had a fine breeze, came up to the reſt, and agreed to lie by, with our heads to the eaſtward, till midnight, being in ſight of the rock, where we loſt poor Hatley, when laſt here. On the 16th at four o'clock in the afternoon, we ſent our yawl for

for captain Cooke and captain Courtney, with whom we agreed to bear away, ſeeing ſo many iſlands and rocks to the weſtward, we did not care to incumber ourſelves among them in the night. By ſix, we found the remedy worſe than the diſeaſe, and, at maſt-head, could ſee all low rocks, almoſt joining from iſland to iſland, that we ſeemed land-locked for three points of the compaſs, and no way open, but to the ſouth-eaſt, from whence we came; ſo we reſolved to return that way, and made ſhort trips all night, keeping continual ſounding, for fear of ſholes, and had from forty to ſixty fathom water. In the morning, we had got far enough to windward to return. We could have no obſervation, the ſun being in our zenith, tho' we found the weather here much colder, than in any latitude within ten degrees of each ſide the equator. The Ducheſs (not being ſo well provided with turtle as we) ſent her boat aſhore on another iſland, where they got her lading of excellent turtle, leaving a vaſt number on ſhore that they could not bring away. We had as many aboard as we had room for. At ſeven we all joined, and agreed to lie by till two in the morning, whence we continued our courſe, with an eaſy ſail, till break-day: we were abreaſt of the Thoroughfare, where we tried for water the laſt time.

I ordered a gun to be fired at a venture, to ſee if it were poſſible Mr. Hatley could be there alive, and then ſeeing, or hearing us, might make a ſmoke on ſhore, as a ſignal; but we had no ſuch good luck; ſo that our hopes for him were all vaniſhed, and, we finally concluded, that we could do no more for him, than we had done already. The 18th and 19th, we ſaw ſeveral more iſlands, one of them a large one, which we ſuppoſed reached near the Equinoctial, and abundance of ſmall iſlands betwixt us. The 19th at noon, we had an indifferent good obſervation, latitude 2° 2′ north. We ſaw in all (ſome that we ſearched, and others that we viewed at a diſtance at both times) no leſs than fifty, but none that had the

leaſt appearance of freſh water. Sig. Morell tells me, that a Spaniſh man of war, employed to cruiſe for pirates, was once at an iſland that lies by itſelf in latitude 1° 10′ or 30 ſouth; they called it St. Maria del Aquada, a pleaſant iſland, and good road, full of wood, and plenty of water, and turtle of both ſorts, with fiſh, &c. lying about 140 Spaniſh leagues weſt from the iſland of Plata; but, I believe, it is at leaſt thirty leagues more, and that it is no other but the ſame iſland where captain Davis, the Engliſh bucanneer, recruited; and all the light he has left to find it again is, that it lies to the weſtward of theſe iſlands he was at with the other bucanneers, which, as I have before examined, can be no other than theſe iſlands we had been twice at. We had no occaſion to look for this iſland the ſecond trip, though, I believe, it is eaſy to find it out without farther directions.

Here are moſt ſorts of ſea-birds among theſe iſlands, and ſome land-birds, particularly hawks of ſeveral ſorts, and turtle-doves, both ſo very tame, that we often hit them down with ſticks. I ſaw no ſorts of beaſts; but there are guanas in abundance, and land-turtle almoſt on every iſland. It is ſtrange how the latter got here; becauſe they cannot come of themſelves, and none of that ſort are found on the main. Seals haunt ſome of theſe iſlands, but not ſo numerous, nor their fur ſo good, as at Juan Fernandez: a very large one made at me three ſeveral times, and, had I not happened to have a pike-ſtaff, pointed with iron, in my hand, I might have been killed by him: I was on the level ſand when he came open mouthed at me, out of the water, as quick and fierce as the moſt angry dog let looſe: I ſtruck the point into his breaſt, and wounded him all the three times he made at me; which forced him at laſt to retire, with an ugly noſe, ſnarling, and ſhewing his long teeth at me out of the water. This amphibious beaſt was as big as a large bear.

On the firſt of October we made the main land of Mexico. Our buſineſs now was, to look for the iſlands called Tres Marias, to procure ſome refreſhments; and found this a work of difficulty, being very uncertain as to their ſituation. On the 4th in the afternoon, Cape Corientes bore eaſt north-eaſt about ten leagues: the next morning, being very clear weather, we diſcovered two iſlands at the diſtance of fourteen leagues, one bearing north by weſt, the other north by eaſt. At noon we had an obſervation, and found ourſelves in the latitude of 20° 45′ north. The ſight of theſe iſlands was very ſatisfactory; for, though our men had their fill of land and ſea-turtle, which kept them from the ſcurvy, yet I found them weak, it being but a faint ſort of food, except they had enough bread or flour with it; whereas they had but a pound and a quarter of bread or flour for five men a day; which was done to prolong our ſtock of bread againſt we came to live wholly on our ſalt proviſions, and ſhould be then forced to allow more.

On the 6th, we ſent lieutenant Fry, in the pinnace, on ſhore, on the eaſtermoſt iſland, to try whether there was any good road or conveniency for us to recruit there. At nine they returned, and told me, the iſland had foul ground near half a mile from the ſhore, bad anchorage, worſe landing, and no freſh water, but wood enough. A melancholy fate to us, our water growing ſhort. We haled on a wind for the middle iſland, which captain Dampier, I believe, can remember he was at, when he belonged to captain Swan, and found water. Having little wind, we ſent our boat towards the iſland, to view it, before we could get up thither with the ſhip. The Ducheſs's people, and our pinnace, had been aſhore at ſeveral places on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the iſland, and found better water at every place. On the 8th, thoſe that had been on the iſland reported, they ſaw no ſign of any people having been lately there, but found a hu-

man ſkull above ground; which we ſuppoſed to be one of the two Indian captains Dampier tells us were left here by captain Swan about twenty-three years ago: for victuals being ſcarce with theſe bucanneers, they would not carry the poor Indians any farther; but, after they had ſerved their turns, left them to make a miſerable end on a deſolate iſland.

We kept a light out all night, and a fire in the iſland, that, if the Marquis and bark, who had left company, ſaw it, and had a gale, they might come into anchor-ground: but, having no ſight of them at day-break, I went on board our conſort, and propoſed my going out to look after them; but they made light of it, and thought it needleſs, believing they would be in after us without any aſſiſtance. The recruit of cattle, hogs, and plantains, at Fecames, held to the Gallapagos; and we fed on the turtle ever ſince, excepting thoſe two laſt days. This accidental ſtock of freſh food was ſome refreſhment to our men, and prolonged our ſtock of European proviſions. On the 9th, I ſent lieutenant Glendall to view the other ſide of the iſland; and he told me, on his return, that it was much better than this, had ſeveral ſandy bays, in which he ſaw the track of many turtle. Upon this intelligence, I ſent back the boat thither in the evening, and next morning they came aboard with a full load of turtle, and left another behind them ready turned; and, which was of much greater conſequence, they found tolerable good water; whereas what we had hitherto drank was phyſical, and purged exceſſively. As we wooded, watered, and furniſhed ourſelves with freſh proviſions here, and as theſe are places very little known, I ſhall deſcribe them.

The iſlands of Tres Marias lie north-weſt, in a range, about four leagues aſunder. The largeſt iſland is the weſtermoſt, which appears to be high double land, and above five leagues in length; the middle iſland about three leagues the longeſt way;

and

and the eaſtermoſt ſcarce two leagues: theſe are alſo high lands, and full of trees. Near the leaſt iſland are two or three ſmall, broken, white iſlands. One of the outermoſt of theſe appeared ſo much like a ſhip under ſail at a diſtance, that we gave the uſual ſignal for a chace, but ſoon found our miſtake. Theſe iſlands have abundance of different ſorts of parrots, pigeons, doves, and other land birds, of which we killed great numbers, with excellent hares, but much leſs than ours: we ſaw abundance of guanas, and ſome raccoons; the latter barked and ſnarled at us like dogs, but were eaſily beat off with ſticks. I think the water more worthy of remark than any thing we ſaw here; becauſe we found but two good ſprings, which ran down in large ſtreams near others, that were very bitter and diſagreeable, which, I ſuppoſe, might proceed from ſhrubs and roots that grow in the water, or from ſome mineral.

The turtle here are very good, but of a different ſhape from any I have ſeen; and, though vulgarly there are reckoned but three ſorts of turtle, we have ſeen ſix or ſeven different ſorts at ſeveral times; and our people have eat of them all, except the very large whooping or loggerhead turtle, (as they are called) found in Braſil in great plenty, and ſome of them above 500 lb. weight: we did not eat of that ſort, becauſe then our proviſions were plentiful. Thoſe at the Gallapagos iſlands, both male and female, I obſerved, came aſhore in the day-time, and not in the night, quite different from what I have ſeen or heard of the reſt. All that we caught in this iſland, was by turning them in the night, and were females which came aſhore to lay their eggs in the dry ſand; one of theſe had 800 eggs in its belly, 150 of which were ready for laying.

I could not imagine, that turtle were ſix weeks in hatching, as ſome authors write, conſidering the ſun makes the ſand ſo very hot where-ever thoſe eggs are found; and that inſtead of a ſhell, they have nothing

thing but a very thin film: in order therefore to be better informed, I ordered ſome of our men on ſhore to watch carefully for one, and ſuffer her to lay her eggs without diſturbance, and to take good notice of the time and place. Accordingly they did ſo, and aſſured me, they found the eggs addled in leſs than twelve hours; and, in about twelve hours more, they had young ones in them, completely ſhaped, and alive: had we ſtaid a little longer, I might have given myſelf, and others, thorough ſatisfaction in this quick production of tortoiſes: from whence I am inclinable to credit the report of divers of our ſailors, who aſſert, that where they have found eggs in the ſand, and looked for them in three days time after, in the ſame place, they found nothing but films: this ſhews, that the young ones are hatched within that time. They aſſured me alſo, that they had obſerved, more than once, that the young brood run out of the ſand every day, directly for the ſea, in great numbers, and quicker than the old ones. There was little fiſh about the ſhores of this iſland, and of the ſame ſorts mentioned at other places in theſe ſeas; but the plenty of turtle, at this time, ſupplied the defect. We found good anchor-ground about this middle iſland, and gradual ſoundings, from twenty to four fathom water, cloſe by the ſhore. Between this and the leaſt iſland, it is about the ſame depth, as where we were. Between them I found no ſhoal, but what was viſible; as a rock off the ſouth-weſt point, and a ſhoal off the north-eaſt point of the ſame, with another at a great diſtance from that point of the leaſt iſland, but neither runs above half a mile from the ſhore.

On the 1ſt of November we ſaw high-lands, which proved the point of California, or that head-land which the ſailors call Cape St. Lucas. It was now neceſſary to put in execution the rules we had formerly laid down for cruiſing; as alſo to ſettle our regulations about plunder, and againſt gaming; all which was done on the eleventh. According to our agreement,

mine

mine was to be the outermoſt ſhip, the Ducheſs in the middle, and the Marquis next the land; the neareſt ſhip to be ſix leagues at leaſt, and nine at moſt, from the ſhore; the bark to ply to-and-fro, and carry advice from ſhip to ſhip. By this agreement, we could ſpread fifteen leagues, and ſee any thing that might paſs us in the day within twenty leagues of the ſhore; and, to prevent the ſhips paſſing in the night, we were to ply to windward all day, and drive all night. On the fifth of November we changed our ſituation, and the Ducheſs was next the ſhore, and the Marquis in the middle. It gave us great ſatisfaction, to conſider, that in this very place, and about this very day, Sir Thomas Candiſh took the Manilla ſhip.

On the 16th, we ſent the bark to look for water on the main; and the next morning they returned, having ſeen wild Indians, who paddled to them on bark-logs: they were fearful of coming near our people at firſt, but were ſoon prevailed with to accept of a knife or two, and ſome bays; for which they returned two bladders of water, a couple of live foxes, and a deer's-ſkin. Till now, we thought the Spaniards had miſſionaries among theſe people; but they being naked, having no ſign of European commodities, nor the leaſt word of Spaniſh, we concluded they were quite ſavage. We diſpatched the bark and boat a ſecond time with trifles, in hopes to get ſome refreſhment from them.

On the 18th, before ſun-ſet, we could perceive our bark under the ſhore; and, having little wind, ſhe drove moſt part of the night, to be near us in the morning. We ſent out our pinnace, and brought the men aboard, who told us, that their new acquaintance were grown very familiar, but were the pooreſt wretches in nature, and had no manner of refreſhment for us: they came freely aboard to eat ſome of our victuals, and by ſigns, invited our men aſhore. The Indians ſwam aſhore to guide the bark-logs that our men were on, there being too much ſea to land

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out of our boat. After they got ſafe on ſhore, the Indians led each of our men betwixt two of them, up the bank, where there was an old naked gentleman, with a deer ſkin ſpread on the ground, on which they kneeled before our people, who did the like, and wiped the water off their faces without a cloth. Theſe that led them from the water ſide, took the ſame care of them for a quarter of a mile, and led them very ſlowly, through a narrow paſs, to their huts, where they found a dull muſician, rubbing two jagged ſticks acroſs each other, and humming to it, to divert and welcome their new gueſts. After theſe ceremonies were over, our people ſat on the ground with them, eat broiled fiſh, and were attended back in the ſame manner, with the Indian muſic. The ſavages brought a ſample of every thing they had, except their women, children, and arms, which we find are not common to ſtrangers. Their knives, made of ſharks teeth, and a few other of their curioſities, our people brought aboard to me, which I preſerved, to ſhew what ſhifts may be made.

On the 28th in the afternoon, we heard the Marquis fire a gun, which was anſwered by the Ducheſs, who had the middle birth. We tacked immediately, and made all poſſible ſail, ſuppoſing they had ſeen a ſtranger. The Marquis ſtood to us, toward the ſhore, and we ſoon met here: by four o'clock I was aboard them, and inquired into the cauſe of the alarm; was ſurpriſed to hear they took us for the Manilla ſhip, and the gun they fired, was to alarm the Ducheſs to give chace, as ſhe had done all the day, though not regarded by us, who knew the Marquis, and admired they could miſtake the Duke. Immediately each ſhip returned to his ſtation. Soon after our main tie gave way, and our main yard came down at once, but did no other damage. Next morning we ſaw the bark coming off ſhore, where ſhe had been becalmed: being longer wanting than uſual, we were afraid they were cut off by the Indians.

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On the 9th of December, Mr. Duck, the maſter of the bark, came aboard, and preſented me with ſome dolphins he had from the Indians. I ordered our maſter to go with him, and endeavour, if poſſible, to diſcover the ſhore along to the northward, to find out a better harbour than that where the Indians lived; and, if they met with the Ducheſs, to tell captain Courtney, I thought it convenient for one of the ſhips to go into the bay we had already diſcovered, and there to take in water and wood, &c. ſo to fit our ſhips by turns, to ſave time, and, conſequently, proviſions, which began now to grow ſhort with us. We were alſo ſomething dubious of ſeeing the Manilla ſhips, becauſe it was near a month after the time they generally fall in with this coaſt where we were cruiſing for them; but, what embarraſſed us moſt was, the impoſſibility of procuring any intelligence which might deliver us from this perplexity. To act with judgment and ſpirit in ſo nice a conjuncture, it was reſolved on the 4th, that the Marquis ſhould go into the harbour, in order to refit; that I and the duke ſhould keep the outward birth, and the Ducheſs remain between us and the ſhore. It was likewiſe fixed, that we ſhould cruiſe but eight days longer in hopes of this Manilla ſhip.

On conſidering our proviſions, we found the bread on board all the ſhips, at our preſent ſhort allowance, for about ſeventy days at moſt. Our run to Guam, one of the Ladrones, could not poſſibly be performed in leſs than fifty days; which added to the time we were ſtill to remain here, made it evident, that, on our arrival there, we ſhould have bread only for eleven days: and, even then, we ran two hazards; the firſt, that our voyage might be longer, and, in that caſe, our bread muſt fail, before we arrived at Guam; the other, that, in caſe we had ſuch a remainder of bread when we came there, it was not quite certain, that we ſhould obtain a ſupply. Yet, at all events, we were obliged to reſolve upon this

this courſe, becauſe it was ſimply impoſſible for us to go round by Cape Horn, and ſo to the Braſils, where we might have ſold our goods to vaſt advantage, and made our voyage back to Great Britain in much leſs time.

The thoughts of all theſe difficulties naturally made us a little melancholy: however, on the 21ſt of December, we bore away for the port where the Marquis was refitting; but, about nine in the morning, the man at the maſt-head cried out, that he ſaw a ſail, beſides the Ducheſs and bark, diſtant about ſeven leagues from us. We hoiſted our enſign immediately, and bore away after her; the Ducheſs did the like; but, it falling calm, I ordered the pinnace to be manned, and ſent out, to make what ſhe was. In the mean time, our ſhip's company were ſtrangely divided in their opinion: ſome were very poſitive, that it was the Marquis come out of port; and, to confirm this, they aſſerted, that the ſail had no fore-top-maſt; upon which we recalled the pinnace, put a cap aboard her for the Marquis, and then ſent her away again; and by this time it was noon. All the reſt of the day we had very little wind, ſo that we made no great way; and the boat not returning, kept us in a languiſhing condition, not being able to determine, whether the ſail was our conſort the Marquis, or the Acapulco ſhip. Our pinnace was ſtill in ſight, and we had nothing to do but to watch her motions: we could ſee, that ſhe made towards the Ducheſs's pinnace, which rowed to meet her: they lay together ſome time, and then the Ducheſs's pinnace went back to their ſhip, which gave us great hopes.

In order to obtain ſome certainty, I ordered Mr. Fry on board the Ducheſs, in our yawl, to know what that ſhip was, and to agree, if ſhe was not the Marquis, how to engage her: as ſoon as the yawl was gone, we hoiſted French colours, and fired a gun, which the ſtranger anſwered; and this, in ſome meaſure, cleared the doubt. Mr. Fry, however, quickly

quickly returned, with the joyful news, that this was really the Manilla ſhip, for which we had waited ſo long, and of ſeeing which we began now to deſpair. This revived all our courage, and every body was as active in preparing for the engagement, as we could poſſibly deſire. The thoughts of being made at once, diſperſed all our melancholy reflections on the ſhortneſs of our proviſions, and our long run to Guam.

We had now nothing in our heads, but being maſters of the mighty treaſure on board this India ſhip; and every moment ſeemed an hour, till we came up with her. We agreed the two pinnaces ſhould tend her all night, and keep ſhewing falſe fires, that we might know whereabout they and the chace were; and if we were ſo fortunate as to come up with her together, we agreed to board her at once. We made a clear ſhip before night, had every thing in readineſs to engage her at day-break, and kept a very good look-out all night for the boat's falſe fires, which we ſaw, and anſwered frequently. At day-break we ſaw the chace upon our weather-bow, about a league from us, the Ducheſs a-head of her to leeward, near about half as far. Towards ſix our boat came aboard, having kept very near the chace all the night, and received no damage; but told us, the Ducheſs paſſed by her in the night, and ſhe fired two ſhot at them, but they returned none. We had no wind, but got out eight of our ſhip's oars, and rowed above an hour; then there ſprung up a ſmall breeze.

I ordered a large kettle of chocolate to be made for our ſhip's company (having no ſpirituous liquor to give them); then we went to prayers, and, before we had concluded, were diſturbed by the enemy's firing at us. They had barrels hanging at each yard-arm, that looked like powder-barrels, to deter us from boarding them. About eight o'clock we began

to

to engage her by ourſelves; for the Ducheſs, being to leeward, and having little wind, did not come up. The enemy fired her ſtern-chace upon us firſt, which we returned with our fore-chace ſeveral times, till we came nearer; and, when cloſe aboard each other, we gave her ſeveral broadſides, plying our ſmall arms very briſkly; which they returned as thick for a while, but did not ply their great guns half ſo faſt as we. After ſome time, we ſhot a little a-head of them, lying thwart her hawſe, cloſe aboard; and plied them ſo warmly, that ſhe ſoon ſtruck her colours two-thirds down. By this time the Ducheſs came up, and fired about five guns, with a volley of ſmall ſhot; but the enemy, having ſubmitted, made no return.

We ſent our pinnace aboard, and brought the captain, with the officers, away; and, having examined them, found there was another ſhip come out of Manilla with them, of larger burden, having about forty braſs guns mounted, and as many pattereroes; but, they told us, they loſt her company three months ago, and reckoned ſhe was got to Acapulco before this time, ſhe ſailing better than this ſhip. This prize was called by the ſwelling name of Noſtra Seniora de la Incarnacion Diſenganio, ſir John Pichberty commander; ſhe had twenty guns, twenty pattereroes, and 193 men aboard, whereof nine were killed, ten wounded, and ſeveral blown up with powder.

We engaged them about three glaſſes; in which time, we had only myſelf and another man wounded. I was ſhot through the left cheek; the bullet ſtruck away great part of my upper jaw, and ſeveral of my teeth, part of which dropt down upon the deck, where I fell: the other, William Powell, an Iriſh landman, was ſlightly wounded in the buttock. They did us no great damage in our rigging, but a ſhot diſabled our mizen-maſt. I was forced to write what I would ſay, to prevent the loſs of blood, and becauſe of the pain I ſuffered by ſpeaking.

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On the 23d of September, after we had put our ſhips to rights, we ſtood in for the harbour, which was diſtant about ſeven leagues to the north-eaſt. Our ſurgeons went on board the prize, to dreſs their wounded men. About four in the afternoon we came to anchor, and received the compliments of all on board the Marquis, on our ſudden and unexpected ſucceſs, and which afforded us no ſmall ſatisfaction: we found that ſhip in good condition, ready to ſail, and all the men on board her very briſk, and eager for action. At eight in the evening, we had a conſultation on the two great points; firſt, what ſhould be done with the hoſtages; and, next, how we ſhould act with reſpect to the other Manilla ſhip, which we thought there was at leaſt a great probability of our taking, if we could remain here a little longer. We agreed that it would be beſt, ſince we had good reaſon to believe the hoſtages from Guiaquil, and the commander of the Manilla ſhip, who was a French gentleman, viz. the chevalier Jean Pichberti, brother to the famous Mr. du Caſs, to be men of ſtrict honour; to make the beſt terms poſſible, and then ſet them at liberty. As to the other, we met with greater difficulty. I was very deſirous of going out with the Ducheſs to cruiſe for the other Manilla ſhip; but there having been ſome reflections caſt, on account of the Ducheſs not engaging our laſt prize ſo ſoon as it was thought ſhe might have done, captain Courtney was abſolutely bent on going out with the Marquis: and the officers of both ſhips voting for this in the committee, my propoſal was over-ruled, and we were forced to ſtay in the harbour againſt our will. It was, however, agreed, that we ſhould put ten of our beſt hands on board the Ducheſs, that ſhe might be the better able to attack the Acapulco ſhip, if ſhe ſaw her; and, on Chriſtmas-eve, ſhe and the Marquis ſailed. As ſoon as they were gone, we put part of the goods aboard the bark into the prize, in order to ſend away our priſoners. The agreement we

made with them was this: as there were ſtill 4000 pieces of eight due for the ranſom of Guiaquil, we agreed to ſell them the bark and cargo for 2000 more; and to take the chevalier Pichberti's bills, payable in London, for the round ſum of 6000 pieces of eight; which he very readily gave us, and an acknowledgment under his hand, that he thought it a good bargain.

On Chriſtmas-day we poſted two centinels on the top of an hill, from whence they had a fair view of the ſea, with inſtructions, whenever they ſaw three ſail of ſhips in the offing, to make three wafts with their colours, that we might have time enough to ſecure our priſoners, and to get out to the relief of our conſorts; which indeed we expected, as having certain intelligence that this was a much ſtronger ſhip than the other, better manned, and better provided in all reſpects; ſo that, if ſhe was carried, it muſt prove very hard work on both ſides, for which we were to prepare. On the 26th, in the afternoon, the centinels made three wafts, and we immediately ſent the yaul to them for better ſatisfaction, and found there were three ſail out at ſea: upon which we inſtantly put all the priſoners aboard the bark, taking away her ſails, and fetched our men aboard, leaving only twenty-two hands belonging to us aboard the prize, to keep, aſſiſt, and look after them. The priſoners, who were about 170, being ſecured aboard our bark, without arms, rudders, ſails, or a boat, and moored near a mile from our prize, a few more of our men than was ſufficient to give them victuals and drink, might have guarded them very ſafely; yet for the more ſecurity, we left a lieutenant of each ſhip, and the above men well armed, aboard our prize, and immediately weighed, in order to go and aſſiſt our conſorts to attack the great ſhip when ſhe came in ſight. Captain Dover thought fit to go on board the prize, and exchange poſts with one of the lieu-

lieutenants that guarded the priſoners, and ſent him to us in his ſtead.

I was in ſo weak a condition, and my head and throat ſo much ſwelled, that I yet ſpake in great pain, and not loud enough to be heard at any diſtance; ſo that all the reſt of the chief officers, and our ſurgeons, would have perſuaded me to ſtay in the harbour in ſafety aboard our prize. We weighed our anchors, and got under ſail at ſeven o'clock; we ſaw lights ſeveral times in the night, which we took to be our conſorts boats making falſe fires.

In the morning, at day-break, we ſaw three ſail to the windward of us; but were ſo far diſtant, that we could not make which were our conſorts, and which the Chace, till about nine o'clock, when we ſaw the Dutcheſs and Chace near together, and the Marquis ſtanding to them with all the ſail ſhe could croud. We made what ſail we could, but were to leeward of them three or four leagues, and having a ſcant wind, made little way. At noon, they bore ſouth-eaſt of us, being right to windward about three leagues. In the afternoon, we ſaw the Marquis come up with the Chace, and engage her pretty briſkly; but ſoon fell to leeward out of cannon-ſhot, and lay a conſiderable time, which made us think ſhe was ſome way or other diſabled. I ordered the pinnace to be manned, and ſent away to her; and, if what we ſuſpected proved true, and we had no wind to get up with them before night, our boat might dog the Chace with ſignals till the morning, that ſhe might not eſcape us and the other ſhips; but before the boat could get up with them, the Marquis made ſail, and came up with the Chace; and both went to it again briſkly for four glaſſes and upward. Then the ſhip, which we took to be the Ducheſs, ſteered a-head to windward of the enemy, I ſuppoſe to fix her rigging, or ſtop her leaks. Meanwhile the other ſhip kept her in play, till ſhe bore down again; and each firing a broadſide or two, left off becauſe it was dark. They

then bore ſouth of us, which was right in the wind's eye, diſtant about two leagues.

By midnight we were pretty well up with them, and our boat came aboard, having made falſe fires, which we anſwered. They had been aboard the Ducheſs and the Marquis, and told me the former had her fore-maſt much diſabled, and the ring of an anchor ſhot away, with ſeveral men wounded, and one killed, having received a ſhot in the powder-room, and ſeveral in their upper works, but all ſtopt: they engaged the ſhip by themſelves the night before, which was what we took to be the boats lights, being out of the hearing of the guns. At that time they could perceive the enemy was in diſorder, her guns not being all mounted, and conſequently their netting-deck and cloſe-quarters unprovided; ſo that, had it been my good fortune in the Duke, to accompany the Ducheſs, as I deſired, we all believed we might then have carried this great ſhip; or if they in the Ducheſs, had thought of taking moſt of the men out of the Marquis, who did not ſail well enough to come up to their aſſiſtance at firſt, they alone, very probably, might have taken her, by boarding at once, before the Spaniards had experienced our ſtrength; being afterward ſo well provided, as encouraged them to lie driving, and give us all opportunity to board them when we pleaſed. Captain Cooke ſent me word, that the Marquis had fired near all her ſhot and powder; but had eſcaped very well, both in maſts, rigging, and men. I ſent our boat with three barrels of powder, and ſhot in proportion, and lieutenant Fry, to conſult our conſorts how to engage the enemy to the beſt advantage at break of day. The Chace had made ſignals to our ſhip all the day and night, becauſe ſhe took us for her conſort, which we had in poſſeſſion; and, after it was dark, had edged away to us, otherwiſe I ſhould not have been up with her, having very little wind, and that againſt us.

In the morning, as ſoon as it was day, the wind veering at once, put our ſhip about, and the Chace fired firſt upon the Ducheſs, who, by means of the wind's veering, was neareſt the enemy: ſhe returned it ſmartly: we ſtood as near as poſſible, firing as our guns came to bear: but the Ducheſs being by this time thwart the haws, and firing very faſt, thoſe ſhot that miſſed the enemy, flew from the Ducheſs over us, and betwixt our maſts; ſo that we ran the riſk of receiving more damage from them than from the enemy, if we had lain on her quarters and croſs her ſtern, as I deſigned, while the enemy lay driving there: this forced us to lay along-ſide, cloſe aboard her, where we kept firing round-ſhot, and did not load with any bar or partridge, becauſe the ſhip's ſides were too thick to receive any damage by it; and no men appearing in ſight, it would have been a clog to the force of our round-ſhot.

We kept cloſe aboard her, and drove as ſhe did, as near as poſſible: the enemy kept to their cloſe-quarters; ſo that we did not fire our ſmall arms till we ſaw a man appear, or a port open; when we fired as quick as poſſible. Thus we continued for four glaſſes, about which time we received a ſhot in the main-maſt, which much diſabled it: ſoon after, the Ducheſs and we firing together, came back cloſe under the enemy, and had like to have been all aboard her: ſo that we could make little uſe of our guns. Then we fell a-ſtern in our birth along-ſide, where the enemy threw a fire ball out of one of her tops, which lighting upon our quarter-deck, blew up a cheſt of arms and cartouch-boxes, all loaded, and ſeveral cartridges of powder in the ſteerage; by which means Mr. Vanburgh our agent, and a Dutchman, were very much burnt. It might have done more damage, had it not been quenched ſoon. After we got clear of each other, the Ducheſs ſtood n for the ſhore, where ſhe lay braced to, mending her rigging, &c. The Marquis fired ſeveral ſhot, but

to little purpoſe, her guns being ſmall: we were cloſe aboard ſeveral times afterwards, till at laſt we received a ſecond ſhot in the main-maſt, not far from the other, which rent it miſerably, and the maſt ſettled to it; ſo that we were afraid it would drop by the board: and, having our rigging ſhattered very much, we ſteered off and brought to, making a ſignal to our conſorts what to do: in the interim, we got ordinary fiſhes for a ſupport to the main-maſt, and faſtened it as well as we could, to ſecure it at preſent.

Captain Courtney and captain Cooke came aboard with other officers; where we conſidered the condition the three ſhips were in, their maſts and rigging being much damaged, in a place where we could get no recruit; that if we engaged her again, we could propoſe to do no more than what we had already done, which was evident did her no great hurt; beſide, our ammunition was very ſhort, having only enough to engage a few glaſſes longer: all this being ſeriouſly conſidered, and knowing the difficulty we ſhould have to get maſts, and the time and proviſions we muſt ſpend before we could get them fitted, we reſolved to forbear attempting her further, ſince our battering her ſignified little, and we had not ſtrength enough to board her: therefore we agreed to keep her company till night, then to loſe her, and make the beſt of our way into the harbour, to ſecure the prize we had already taken.

We engaged firſt and laſt about ſeven hours, during all which time we had, aboard the Duke, but eleven men wounded, three of whom were ſcorched with gun-powder. I was again unfortunately wounded in my left foot with a ſplinter, juſt before we blew up on the quarter-deck; ſo that I could not ſtand, but lay on my back in a great deal of miſery, part of my heel-bone being ſtruck out, and all under my ancle cut above half-through; which bled very much, and weakened me before it could be dreſſed

and

and ſtopped. The Ducheſs had about twenty men killed and wounded: three of the latter and one of the former were my men. The Marquis had none killed or wounded, but two ſcorched with powder.

The enemy's was a brave lofty new ſhip, the admiral of Manilla, and this the firſt voyage ſhe had made. She was called the Vigonia, of about 900 tons, and could carry ſixty guns, about forty of which were mounted, with as many pattereroes, all braſs; her complement of men on board, as we were informed, was above 450, beſide paſſengers: they added, that 150 of the men on board this great ſhip were Europeans, ſeveral of whom had been formerly pirates, and having now got all their wealth aboard, were reſolved to defend it to the laſt. The gunner, who had a poſt in Manilla, was an expert man, and had provided the ſhip extraordinary well for defence, which made them fight ſo deſperately. Theſe large ſhips are built at Manilla, with excellent timber, that will not ſplinter; they have very thick ſides, much ſtronger than they build in Europe.

Thus ended our attempt on the biggeſt Manilla ſhip, which I have heard related ſo many ways at home, that I thought it neceſſary to ſet down every particular circumſtance of it, as it ſtood in my journal. Had we been together at firſt, and boarded her, we might probably have taken this great prize; but after the enemy had fixed her netting-neck and cloſe quarters, they valued us very little. I believe alſo we might have burnt her with one of our ſhips; but that was objected againſt by all the officers, becauſe we had goods of value on board all our ſhips. The enemy was the better provided for us, becauſe they had heard at Manilla, from our Engliſh ſettlements in India, that there were two ſmall ſhips fitted from Briſtol, that deſigned to attempt ſomewhat in the South Seas, and that captain Dampier was pilot; which was the reaſon they had ſo many Europeans aboard the great ſhip, moſt of whom having, as I

ſaid, their wealth aboard, they would fight to the utmoſt; and having agreed to pay no freight there, had filled up all between the guns with bales, to ſecure the men.

On January 1, 1710, we returned again into port; and as we were now determined to make as quick diſpatch as poſſible, in our paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, we immediately parted with our priſoners, giving them the bark, with water and proviſions ſufficient for their voyage to Acapulco. Then we applied ourſelves to ſettling our own affairs. We ſpent our time to the 7th in refitting, wooding, and watering; and very ſatisfactory it was for us to find as much bread on board the prize, as, with our old ſtock, might ſupply us in our long run to Guam.

About this time, captain Courtney, and his officers, with thoſe on board the Marquis, were too willing to compliment captain Dover with the chief command of the prize, which, till now, I thought he would not have accepted, his poſts already being above a commander of any of our prizes; but I and my officers were againſt it, becauſe we believed captain Fry, or others, were fitter perſons to take charge of her.

After a long diſpute, Mr. Fry and Mr. Stretton were appointed both to act in equal poſts, to take charge of the navigating the ſhip, though under captain Dover, almoſt in the ſame manner I propoſed at firſt; only he had the title of chief captain in that ſhip, which was ſo ſmall a difference, where titles were ſo common, that we all conſented to it: and at the ſame time they choſe officers, agreeing, that we ſhould put thirty men aboard her, the Ducheſs twenty-five, and the Marquis thirteen, which, with thirty-ſix Manilla Indians, called laſcars, and other priſoners we had left, made her complement about 110 men: ſo that all our differences about this affair were at an end, and we drank to our ſafe arrival in Great Britain. In the morning, we put thirty-five good hands aboard her: the Ducheſs and Marquis

quis put no more than their ſhare. The captains Courtney and Cooke, and two or three more of the committee came to me, where we ſigned a paper for captain Dover and the two commanders, recommending peace and tranquillity amongſt them; and that, in caſe of ſeparation, the place of rendezvous was to be Guam, one of the Ladrone iſlands, where we deſigned to touch.

As I have not filled this work with a variety of deſcriptions, ſo, before I quit America, it may not be amiſs to give the reader ſome account of California; the rather becauſe moſt of what I relate I was eye-witneſs of, and therefore it deſerves the greater credit. I have heard from the Spaniards, that ſome of their nation had ſailed as far betwixt California and the main as 42° north latitude, where, meeting with ſhoal water, and abundance of iſlands, they durſt not venture any farther; ſo that, if this be true, in all probability, it joins to the continent a little farther to the northward: for ſhoal water and iſlands are a general ſign of being near ſome main-land. But the Spaniards, having more territories in this part of the world than they know how to manage, are not curious after further diſcoveries. The Manilla ſhips, bound to Acapulco, often make this coaſt in the latitude 40° north; and I never heard of any that diſcovered it farther to the northward. What I can ſay of it from my own knowlege is, that the land where we were is, for the moſt part, mountainous, barren, and ſandy, and had nothing but a few ſhrubs and buſhes, which produced fruit and berries of ſeveral ſorts. Our men, who went in our bark to view the country, about fifteen leagues to the northward, ſay, it was there covered with tall trees. The Spaniards tell us of ſeveral good harbours in this country; but we found none of them near this cape. We frequently ſaw ſmoke in ſeveral places; which made us believe the inhabitants were pretty numerous. The bay where we rode, had but very indifferent

ferent anchoring-ground in deep water, and is the worſt recruiting-place we met with ſince we came out. The wind, at this time of the year, generally blowing over land, makes it good riding on the ſtarboard-ſide of the bay, where you anchor on a bank that has from ten to twenty-five fathom water: but the reſt of the bay is very deep; and, near the rocks, on the larboard ſide, going in, there is no ground. During the time of our ſtay, the air was ſerene, pleaſant and healthful; and we had no ſtrong gales of wind, very little rain, but great dews fell by night, when it was very cold.

The natives we ſaw here had large limbs, were very ſtraight, tall, and of a much blacker complexion than any other people that I had ſeen in the South Seas; their hair long, black, and ſtraight, which hung down to their thighs: the men ſtark-naked; and the women had a covering of leaves or little clouts made of ſilk-graſs, or the ſkins of birds and beaſts, round their waiſts. All of them that we ſaw were old, and miſerably wrinkled. We ſuppoſe they were afraid to let any of their young ones come near us; but needed not: for, beſide the good order kept among our men in that reſpect, if we judge by what we ſaw, they could not be very tempting. The language of the natives was as unpleaſant to us, as their aſpect; for it was very harſh and broad, and they pronounced it ſo much in their throat. I deſigned to have brought two of them away with me, in order to have had ſome account of the country, when they had learnt ſo much of our language as to enable them to give it; but being ſhort of proviſions, I durſt not venture it.

Some of them wore pearls about their arms and necks, having firſt notched each pearl round, and faſtened it with a ſtring of ſilk-graſs; for, I ſuppoſe, they knew not how to bore them. The pearls were mixed with little red berries, ſticks, and bits of ſhells, which they looked upon to be ſo fine an ornament,

that, though we had glaſs beads of ſeveral colours, and other toys, they would accept none of them. They coveted nothing we had but knives, and other cutting inſtruments; and were ſo honeſt, that they did not meddle with our coopers or carpenters tools; ſo that, whatever was left aſhore at night, we found in the morning. We ſaw nothing like European furniture or utenſils about them. Their huts were very low, and made of branches of trees and reeds; but not ſufficiently covered to keep out rain. They had nothing like gardens or proviſions about them. They ſubſiſted chiefly on fiſh while we were here, which, with the miſerableneſs of their huts, that ſeemed only to be made for a time, made us conclude they had no fixed habitation here, whatever they might have elſewhere; and that this was their fiſhing-ſeaſon.

We ſaw no nets or hooks, but wooden inſtruments, with which they ſtrike the fiſh very dextrouſly, and dive to admiration. Some of our ſailors told me, they ſaw one of them dive with his inſtrument, and, whilſt he was under water, put up his ſtriker with a fiſh on the point of it, which was taken off by another that watched by him in a bark-log. The reader may believe of this what he pleaſes; but I give it the more credit, becauſe I myſelf threw ſome ruſty knives over-board, on purpoſe to try the divers, who ſeldom miſſed catching a knife before it could ſink three or four fathom, which I took to be an extraordinary proof of their agility. Inſtead of bread, they uſed a little black ſeed, which they ground with ſtones, and eat by handfuls. Some of our men thickened their broth with it, and ſaid, it taſted ſomewhat like coffee. They have ſome roots that eat like yams; a ſort of ſeeds that grow in cods, and taſte like green peaſe; a berry, which reſembles thoſe of ivy, and being dried at the fire, eats like parched peaſe. They have another, like a large currant, with a white tartiſh pulp, a ſtone and a kernel. This ſort

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of fruit they ſeem to value much. They have alſo a fruit, which grows on the prickle-pear-tree, taſtes like gooſeberries, and makes good ſauce. They have many other ſeeds and plants unknown to us; but I was not in a condition to view and deſcribe them.

They ſeem to have an hunting-ſeaſon, by the ſkins of deer we ſaw among them. They paid much reſpect to one man, whoſe head was adorned with feathers, made up in the form of a cap. In other reſpects, they ſeemed to have all things in common; for, when they exchanged fiſh with us for old knives, of which we had plenty, they gave the knives to any that ſtood next; and, after they had enough, we could get no fiſh from them. They appeared to be very idle, and ſeemed only to look after a preſent ſubſiſtence. They obſerved our men very attentively, while they cut wood, and filled water; but did not lend us a hand at either, or indeed in any thing that required hard labour. Their arms are bows and arrows, with which they can ſhoot birds flying. Their bows are about ſeven feet long, and of a tough wood, unknown to us, with ſtrings of ſilk-graſs; their arrows about four feet and an half, made of cane, and pointed with fiſh-bones, that they ſhape for the purpoſe. Moſt of their knives, and other cutting inſtruments, are made of ſharks teeth. I ſaw two or three large pearls in their necklaces and bracelets; and the Spaniards told me, they had quantities of them from the inner part of the gulph of California, where they have miſſionaries planted among them.

Our men told me, they ſaw heavy ſhining ſtones aſhore, which looked as if they came from ſome mine; but they did not inform me of this till we were at ſea; otherwiſe I would have brought ſome of them, to have tried what metal could have been extracted out of them. The Spaniards likewiſe informed me, that the country in general within, on the main-land of Mexico, is pleaſant and abounds with cattle and proviſions of all ſorts. The natives grew very familiar

liar with us, and came frequently aboard to view our ſhips, which they mightily admired. We ſaw no boats or canoes among them, or any craft, but bark-logs, which they ſteered with paddles at each end. We gave one of the natives a ſhirt; but he ſoon tore it in pieces, and gave it to the reſt of his company to put the ſeeds in, which they uſed for bread. We ſaw no utenſils for cookery amongſt them; nor do I ſuppoſe they have any; for they bury their fiſh in an heap of ſand, and make a fire over it, till they think it fit for eating. There were in this bay all the fiſh uſual in theſe ſeas. The entrance into the harbour may be known by four high rocks, which look like the Needles of the iſle of Wight, as you come from the weſtward; the two weſtermoſt in form of ſugar-loaves; the innermoſt has an arch like a bridge, through which the ſea makes its way. Here you ride land-locked from eaſt to north back to the ſouth-eaſt by eaſt: yet it is but an ordinary road, if the wind ſhould come ſtrong out of the ſea, which it never did while we lay there.

I have now done with California, of which the Spaniards would know very little, but for theſe annual veſſels that ſail from Manilla to Acapulco. As I have mentioned theſe ſhips, I ſhall take occaſion to obſerve, that, generally ſpeaking, thoſe that come from Manilla are much richer than our prize; for ſhe waited a long time for the Chineſe junks to bring ſilk; which not arriving, ſhe came away with a cargo mixed with abundance of coarſe goods. Several of the priſoners aſſured me, that it was a common thing for a Manilla ſhip to be worth 10,000,000 pieces of eight; ſo that, had it not been for this accident, we had taken an extraordinary prize indeed. After my return into Europe, I met, in Holland, with a ſailor, who had been on board the large ſhip when we engaged her; and let us into the ſecret, that there was no taking her; for the gunner kept conſtantly in the powder-room, declaring that he had taken the ſacra-

ſacrament to blow the ſhip up if we boarded her; which made the men exceedingly reſolute in her defence. I was the more ready to credit what this man told me, becauſe he gave a regular and circumſtantial account of the engagement.

January 10, we weighed from port Seguro, but were becalmed under the ſhore till the 12th in the afternoon, when there ſprung a breeze, which ran us out of ſight of the land. We took our departure from cape St. Lucas, which bore north by eaſt, at twelve o'clock, diſtance fifteen leagues: we were forced to go with little or no refreſhment, having but three or four fowls, and a very ſlender ſtock of liquor: ſeveral of our men were in a weak condition, beſide myſelf, Mr. Vanbrugh, and the reſt that were wounded. We were forced to allow but one pound and an half of flour, and one ſmall piece of meat to five men in a meſs, with three pints of water a man, for twenty-four hours, for drink and dreſſing their victuals. We ſtruck down ten of our guns into the hold, to eaſe our ſhip. On the 16th, the Batchelor made a ſignal to give us ſome bread, they having found a good quantity of bread and ſweet-meats on board her, but little of fleſh-kind. We had one thouſand weight of bread for our ſhare, the Ducheſs as much, and the Marquis five hundred weight; in lieu of which, we ſent back to the prize two caſks of flour, one of Engliſh beef, and one of pork, they having but forty-five days proviſions aboard in fleſh. On the 26th in the morning, the water was very much diſcoloured, at which being ſurprized, we immediately ſounded, but found no ground. We ſpoke with the Ducheſs, and agreed to go away weſt ſouth-weſt, till we got into the latitude of 13°, becauſe our Spaniſh pilot told us, it was dangerous going into 14°, by reaſon of iſlands and ſhoals, where a Spaniſh veſſel was loſt ſome time ago. Ever ſince, the Manilla ſhip, in her return from Acapulco, runs in latitude 13°; and keeps the parallel, till they make

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the iſland of Guam. On the 28th, the ſteward miſſing ſome pieces of pork, we immediately ſearched, and found the thieves: one of them had been guilty before, and forgiven, on promiſe of amendment; but was puniſhed now, leſt forbearance ſhould encourage the reſt to follow this bad practice, proviſions being ſo ſhort, and our runs ſo long, which might prove of ill conſequence: I ordered them to the main-jeers, and every man of the watch to give them a blow with the cat-of-nine-tails; and their meſs-mates, being privy to the theft, were put in irons.

March the 11th, we had ſight of both iſlands, the northermoſt bearing north north-weſt, diſtant about ſeven leagues; and the body of the weſtermoſt weſt ſouth-weſt five leagues. The Spaniards ſay, there is a great ſhoal between theſe iſlands, but neareſt to Serpana. We ran along the ſhore, being ſatisfied it was the iſland of Guam, from whence there came ſeveral flying proas to look at the ſhips; they ran by us very ſwift, but none would venture on board. At noon, the weſtermoſt part of the iſland bore weſt; and at the ſame time, we made a low ſmall iſland, joining to Guam, with a ſhoal between it and Guam. The iſland appeared green, and very pleaſant: Off it there runs a ſpit of ſand to the ſouthward; but, keeping it a good birth from you, as you come near it, there is no danger, being gradual ſoundings to the ſhoal. After we were clear of it, we ſprung our looſ, and ſtood in for the harbour, which lies midway betwixt this and the north part of the iſland; and got to an anchor in the afternoon in twelve fathom water, about half a mile off ſhore, where there was a little village. The ſmall iſland to the ſouth bore ſouth of us, diſtant about three leagues; and another ſmall one to the northward bore north north-weſt, about two leagues.

The neceſſity of our ſtopping at theſe iſlands to get a refreſhment of proviſions was very great, our ſea-

ſea-ſtore being almoſt exhauſted; and what we had left was very ordinary, eſpecially our bread and flour, which was not enough for fourteen days, at the ſhorteſt allowance. In order to recruit quietly, we endeavoured to get ſome of the natives aboard, that were in the proas, to keep them as hoſtages, in caſe of ſending any of our men to the governor. One of them, as we were turning into the harbour with Spaniſh colours, came under our ſtern: There were two Spaniards in the boat, who, on our aſſuring them that we were friends, came on board; and, ſoon after, came a meſſage from the governor, to whom we wrote a very reſpectful letter, and the next day received a civil anſwer to it, with a generous offer of any thing the iſland afforded; which made us very eaſy. On the 13th an entertainment was provided on board the Batchelor for the Spaniſh gentlemen, to which I was carried, being not able to move myſelf, but was hoiſted in a chair out of the ſhip into the Batchelor; where we agreed, that a deputation ſhould be ſent from each ſhip, to wait on the governor with a handſome preſent, in acknowledgement for his great civility, and the readineſs he expreſſed to ſupply us. On the 15th, there was another entertainment on board the Marquis, to which I was carried as to the former; and, after which, a committee was held, in which our former reſolution was confirmed.

On the 16th, our pinnace went with ſeveral of our officers to the governor's aſhore, who received them with all imaginable friendſhip and reſpect, having near 200 men drawn up in arms at their landing, and the officers and clergy of the iſland, to conduct them to the governor's houſe, which was a very handſome ſeat, conſidering where we found it. They entertained them with at leaſt ſixty diſhes of ſeveral ſorts, the beſt that could be got in the iſland; and when they took their leaves, each fired a volley of ſmall arms. They preſented the governor, according

cording as we had agreed, with two negro boys dreſſed in liveries, twenty yards of ſcarlet cloth-ſerge, and ſix pieces of cambrick; which he ſeemed wonderfully pleaſed with, and promiſed to aſſiſt us in whatever lay in his power. The next day we got our dividend of proviſions. On the 18th, there was an entertainment aboard us, where we had moſt of our officers, and four Spaniſh g ntlemen from the governor. I made them as welcome as time and place would permit, diverting them with muſic, and our ſailors dancing till night, when we parted well pleaſed on both ſides. We got ſome more bullocks on board, being ſmall lean cattle, but what we gladly accepted. It was agreed to make an handſome preſent to the governor's deputy, who got our proviſions together, wherein he uſed all poſſible diſpatch. We gave him, and the reſt of the gentlemen, what they eſteemed double the value of what we received of them; which they certified under their hands, and that we had been very civil to them: we alſo gave them the like certificate, ſigned by all our officers, to ſhew to any Engliſh that might have occaſion to recruit there, and parted very friendly. Having finiſhed that affair, it was agreed that we ſhould ſteer from hence a weſt by ſouth courſe, to go clear of ſome iſlands that lie in our way; and then thought it proper to ſteer directly for the ſouth-eaſt part of Mindanao, and from thence the cleareſt way to Ternate. In the mean time I put an old Spaniard aſhore, called Antonio Gomes Figuero, whom we took in the firſt bark in the South Seas, and kept in order to carry him to Great Britain, to condemn all our prizes taken there; but he being now not likely to live, we agreed to diſmiſs him, he giving us a certificate, that he ſaw us attack and take ſeveral prizes, all ſubjects to Philip V. king of Spain, &c. I gave him ſome cloaths, and other things to help him in his ſickneſs; then put him aſhore to the deputy governor, and the reſt of the Spaniſh officers, who gave us a certificate, that they received ſuch a

perſon. The governor preſented us with one of their flying proas or prows, which the Spaniards told me would run twenty leagues in an hour, which I think exceeds the truth; but, by what I ſaw, I verily believe they may run twenty miles or more in the time; for, when they viewed our ſhips, they paſſed by us like a bird flying *.

As ſoon as the boat returned from landing ſignior Figuero, we put under ſail, having a fine breeze of wind at eaſt north-eaſt. April 14, in the afternoon, we made land, which bore weſt north-weſt, diſtant about ten leagues; and ſuppoſed it to be the north-eaſt part of Celebes. We ſaw three water-ſpouts; one of which had like to have broken on the Marquis, but the Ducheſs, by firing two ſhot, broke it before it reached her. We ſaw a very large tree afloat, with a multitude of fiſh about it, and two large iſlands, the ſouthermoſt bearing ſouth-weſt, diſtant about eight leagues, and the northermoſt weſt north-weſt, ſeven leagues, both being the ſame land we ſaw the day before; and the latter we then ſuppoſed to be the ſouth-eaſt part of Moratay; and the other, the north part of Gilolo. In this condition, we ſailed till towards the latter end of the month: with this additional vexation, that our ſhip was ſo leaky, that it was as much as four men were able to do to keep her free half an hour.

Captain Dampier diſcouraged us very much: he had been twice here, and therefore what he ſaid amongſt the ſeamen paſſed without diſpute; and he laid it down as a thing certain, that if we could not reach Ternate, or find the iſland of Tula, it was impoſſible for us to get any refreſhment, there being nothing to be met with on the coaſt of New Guinea. There were, in the mean time, great heart-burnings on board all the ſhips about the reduction of our allowance, ſo that we were obliged to enlarge it again;

* See the conſtruction of theſe proas accurately deſcribed in Anſon's voyage.

ſo little is reaſon able to prevail againſt hunger. On the 18th of May, we paſſed between the high-land of New Guinea and the low-land of Gilolo: and, on the 20th, we made another high iſland, which we took to be Ceram.

On May 24, being in the latitude of the iſland of Bouro, we expected to make that land, which is about twenty leagues to the ſouth-weſt of Ceram, and near the ſame diſtance, in a parallel with Amboyna, which we deſigned to have touched at, if the wind had proved favourable: but, as the ſouth-eaſt monſoon was now ſet in, we were out of hopes of reaching it; and, notwithſtanding the ſkill of captain Dampier, we were ſtill very doubtful, whether the iſland we paſſed by laſt was Ceram or Bouro. By an obſervation we had at noon, it appeared that we were in 4° 30′ ſouth latitude, and 237° 29′ longitude weſt from London. As we were now in the latitude of the ſouthern part of Bouro, we imputed our not ſeeing it to the currents ſetting us to the weſtward of it. The next day we came to a reſolution not to ſpend any more time in ſearching for Bouro; as alſo to drop our deſign of going to Amboyna, and to make the beſt of our way for the ſtreights of Bouton; where, if we arrived ſafely, we might get proviſions ſufficient to carry us to Batavia.

In purſuance of this agreement, we haled away ſouth-weſt by ſouth for them, having a freſh gale of wind at eaſt; but by two in the morning, we fell in with a parcel of iſlands to the eaſtward of Bouton; and had certainly been aſhore on one of them, had not the weather cleared up at once. We made a ſhift, and wore: the ſhips then ſtood off north-eaſt from the land till day-break, when we ſaw it trending from ſouth by eaſt, to ſouth-weſt by ſouth, about ſix leagues diſtance, which made a fine large bay; but as we ſtood in, we perceived an opening, and that there were two iſlands, with three lying thwart the outlet to the ſouthward of both: we hoiſted out

our pinnace, and ſent her aſhore; the Ducheſs did the ſame, from whence they brought off ſome cocoa-nuts, of which there were plenty there; and told us there were Malayan inhabitants, who ſeemed to be very friendly. Up the bay we ſaw ſeveral boats, houſes, and abundance of the native Malayans walking along the ſhore: we ſent in our boats for proviſions and pilots, and myſelf and the Marquis turned up very near to the town; but ſounding ſeveral times, found no ground. The natives informed us, there was a bank oppoſite to the town, where we might anchor.

Abundance of people came off with Indian wheat, cocoa-nuts, yams, potatoes, papas, hens, and ſeveral ſorts of birds, to truck with us for cloaths, knives, ſciſſars, and other toys, being very civil to all appearance. They are Mohammedans, of a middle ſtature, and tawny; but the women are ſomewhat clearer than the men; having very long black hair, their mouths, lips, noſes ſmall: they wear a linen waiſtcoat, which reaches only to the lower part of their breaſts; and about their waiſt a piece of cloth, three or four yards wide, and a yard deep, which they wrap about them inſtead of a petticoat. The men that came off were all naked, having only a cloth rolled about their middle; ſome of the better ſort of people had a looſe ſort of waiſtcoat, and a piece of linen rolled about their heads, with a cap of palm-tree-leaves, to keep the ſun from ſcorching. They brought off ſeveral cicatoes and parrots, very fine birds. Along the ſhore-ſide we ſaw ſeveral weirs they had to catch fiſh. In turning up, we found the current very ſtrong againſt us, and the prize loſt ground conſiderably; wherefore, in the evening, the Ducheſs fired a gun; we ran out, and drove all night. The names of theſe two iſlands are Cambava and Wanſhut: theſe iſlands lie in latitude 5° 13′, longitude 238° weſt from London.

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We ſtood from thoſe iſlands to the weſtward, and ran along-ſhore, as near as we durſt, to weather the weſtermoſt point of land, where we expected to find an harbour; but, as we neared it, found a long track of high-land trending to the ſouthward, as far as ſouth weſt and by ſouth: we agreed in opinion, that was the iſland Bouton, but that we had overſhot the ſtreights. We made ſail to ſee if we could diſcover any land farther to the ſouthward; but finding none, we ſailed on, keeping the wind as near as poſſible, becauſe of the current, which ſets ſtrong to the ſouth-weſt. By two a clock in the morning we were near a ſmall iſland, that bore ſouth ſouth-weſt of us about two leagues; but having clear weather, we ſtood from it till day-break, there being no other land near it that we ſaw, except that we came from, which we had opened five points farther to the weſtward. I was unwilling to act any longer without the conſent of the committee; ſo the major part of us met aboard the Ducheſs, where we agreed to ſtand back, and make the land plain, ſo as to be fully ſatisfied what it was, and withal to find a recruit of water and wood before we proceeded any farther, being in want of every thing, being then in ſouth latitude 5° 50′, longitude 238° 38′ weſt from London.

In purſuance of this agreement, we ſtood back the next day, and made little or no ſail all night: In the morning, we had very fine clear weather, and made the land exceeding plain, which was very high, with iſlands under it. It looked moſt of it as if inhabited, being pretty thick of wood, and promiſing us, in other reſpects, plenty of refreſhments; but our misfortune was, that we could not meet here with any ground that would hold our anchors; and the next day, the Ducheſs ſtanding over to the other ſide of the bay, had no better fortune, but was forced to return, without anchoring, to us again. A little before ſhe came back, our boat, which we had ſent on ſhore, returned; the people on board having, by

preſents, engaged ſome of the Malayans to come on board with them; in which they certainly judged right, though we could make no uſe of their intelligence for want of an interpreter; I ſent to the Bachelor, who had one; but captain Dover refuſed to let him come to me, notwithſtanding he had no uſe for him: then I ſent a ſecond time, that I might know the beſt anchoring-place for our ſhips; and treated the people with ſweetmeats, and other things they fancied, but could not keep them, or ſend them aboard the Bachelor to ſecure her, ſeeing white ſhoal-water near us; but they paſſed by us, in danger of running on the ſhoals, not knowing the beſt anchoring-place for want of the linguiſt. At parting, they made ſigns, and pointed to the land to the northward, which they called Buroo. Our pilot, captain Dampier, ſays he has been formerly through the ſtreights; and, in his book, tells us of a town near the ſouth-part of them where the king reſided; but he knew nothing of it now, except the bare ſtory. Upon this, we agreed to ſend one of the pinnaces and the linguiſt along with him, to find out the town, being willing to venture him to wait on his majeſty the king of Bouton, to ſolicit for a ſupply of proviſions, for which we would gladly pay; and, to make the better appearance, we ſent Mr. Vanbrugh and Mr. Connely along with him. The water flows here above fifteen feet. There are places near to the town, which lie to the northward ſix leagues, from whence we rode, where a ſhip might, on occaſion, be laid aſhore to refit; and we could have carried the Duke thither to ſtop her leak, but were not willing to loſe time, ſince we found it did not increaſe more than one pump could vent, which we had men enough to keep continually going.

On the 30th, in the morning, a proa came from the king, with a nobleman on board, who had neither ſhoes nor ſtockings; and a pilot to carry us up to town. The firſt queſtion this Indian lord aſked, after

after he came on board, was, how we durſt come to an anchor there, without leave firſt had and obtained of the great king of Bouton? He brought each commander a piece of Bouton ſtriped cloth, a bottle of arrac, ſome rice in baſkets, &c. as a preſent from the king; as alſo a letter from the officers we had ſent aſhore, giving an account that they had been very well received; and that the town where the king reſided is large, walled, and fortified, and had ſeveral great guns; another preſent was returned, and five guns fired by every ſhip, at the meſſenger's going off, at which he ſeemed very well pleaſed. We wooded and watered at the iſland Sampo, and ſeveral proas came off to us with fowl, Indian corn, pompions, papas, lemons, Guinea-corn, &c. which they trucked for knives, ſciſſars, old cloaths, &c. The people were civil, but ſold very dear; yet our officers making a longer ſtay at the town than was intended, we began to ſuſpect they were detained, thoſe Moors being very treacherous: however, we heard from them every day; and, on June 5, the Ducheſs's pinnace came down with Mr. Connely, who told us there were four laſts of rice coming, which was bought of the king, and coſt 600 dollars, fifty dollars in tale being allowed to make up the weight, becauſe the royals were light; and that Mr. Vanbrugh was detained for the payment. The next morning it came, and was equally diſtributed among the four ſhips; ſome great men coming to deliver it, and receive the money: a Portugueſe, ſent by the king, was detained till our boat returned, and proviſions began to come more plentifully and cheaper.

The town of Bouton is ſeated on the aſcent of an hill; on the top whereof is a fort, incloſed with an old ſtone wall, on which there are guns and patereroes mounted. The king, and a conſiderable number of people, live in the ſaid fort, where an herb-market is kept every day. The king has five

wives, beſide concubines, and four men, called Pury Baſſas, who carry great canes, with ſilver heads, to manage their affairs. His majeſty, on his long black hair, wears a ſort of green gauſe, ſtrewed with ſpangles; goes always bare-footed and bare-legged; is ſometimes clad like a Dutch ſkipper; but, when he appears in ſtate, has a long calico gown over his ſhort jacket. In council, he ſits on a chair covered with red cloth; is always attended by a ſerjeant and ſix men, with match-locks; beſide three others, one of which wears a head-piece, and carries a large ſcimitar in his hand; another holds a ſhield; and the third a great fan. Four ſlaves ſit at his feet, one of them holding his betel box, another a lighted match, another his box to ſmoke, and a fourth his ſpitting-baſon. The petty kings and great men ſit on his left-hand, and before him; every one attended by a ſlave in the council-chamber, where they chew tobacco and betel in the king's preſence; and ſpeak to him ſitting croſs-legged, joining their hands, and lifting them up to their fore-head. The town is very populous; and by it runs a fine river; which, they ſay, comes down from ten miles up the country, ebbs and flows conſiderably, and has a bar at the entrance; ſo that boats cannot come out at low-water. At leaſt, 1500 boats belong to this river, fifty whereof are proas for war, carrying pattereroes, and forty or fifty men each. About fifty iſlands are tributary to the king, who ſends ſome of his proas, once a yea, to gather in the tribute, which conſiſts of ſlaves, each iſland giving him ten inhabitants out of every hundred. There is one moſque at Bouton, which is ſupplied with prieſts from Moca, the people being Mohammedans. They are great admirers of muſic; their houſes are built upon poſts; Dutch money is current here, and Spaniſh dollars. On the 17th, our pinace returned, with Mr. Vanbrugh, and all our men having parted very friendly with his majeſty, but could not get a pilot for money: however,

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we reſolved to ſtay no longer, and to truſt wholly to Almighty Providence for our future preſervation. We diſmiſſed the Portugueſe linguiſt, and began to unmoor our ſhips. The next day, we made three iſlands to the northward of Zalayer; and the looming of other land to the weſtward of all which, we took to be the ſouthermoſt part of Celebes.

On the 10th, our pinnaces came up with a ſmall veſſel; who told them they were bound for Macaſſar, a Dutch factory on the ſouth part of Celebes. The pinnace took the maſter of her on board, who promiſed to pilot us, not only through the ſtreights of Zalayer, but to Batavia, if we could keep it ſecret, for fear of the Dutch. He ſent his veſſel to lie in the narrower paſſage, between the iſlands, till ſuch time as our ſhips came up. About four a clock we entered the ſtreight, betwixt the iſlands that are next to Zalayer, and another little one to the northward of that, being the middlemoſt of the three; having found a good paſſage, three leagues over, all deep water, ſteering through north-weſt by weſt, to give the larboard iſlands a good birth; then we made the ſouthermoſt part of Celebes. The ſame morning, the pilot promiſed to carry us through the channel the great Dutch ſhips generally went for Batavia, and by that means avoid the ſhoals, called the Brill and Bunker-ground.

The Brill has very uneven ſoundings; and in many places, but three fathom water, and leſs; ſo we haled away to the northward, keeping the iſland Celebes aboard, the ſouth-weſt part of which trends away in low land, with high mountains at the back of it; and off the point there lies a rock, pretty high and remarkable. At four o'clock we came to ſounding, and had ten fathom; and came to an anchor under the iſland, behind the ſpit of land, in ten fathom water, very good clean ground. The rock of Celebes then bore north-eaſt by north four leagues, the northermoſt of the keys two leagues, and the middle-

middlemoſt weſt ſouth-weſt three leagues: the other being ſhut in with the long iſland, we kept the land going all the way conſtantly through; and had never leſs than ſix fathom, nor more than ten.

As ſoon as it was day, we weighed, and went betwixt the two ſmall keys, keeping neareſt the northermoſt ſounding all the way, and had no more than ten fathom. The water ſtill deepening, being clear of them, we haled away weſt, and then ſouth-weſt, having a freſh gale at ſouth-eaſt, and ſouth-eaſt and by eaſt; no land in ſight at noon, but part of the high-land at Celebes, which bore eaſt, diſtant about twelve leagues. It was very well for us that we met with this pilot; for, having no good charts, nor any one acquainted with thoſe ſeas, we had run greater hazards. On the 14th, we ran by the iſland Madura, which is about four leagues long, lying eaſt and weſt, on the north ſide of Java, the land we made in the morning being the north-eaſt part of it. In the afternoon, we ſaw the ſhips in the road of Batavia, betwixt thirty and forty ſail, great and ſmall; and got happily to anchor juſt after ſun-ſet, betwixt ſix and ſeven fathom water, at the long deſired port of Batavia, in latitude 6° 10′ ſouth, longitude 252° 51′ weſt from London.

By our reckoning here, we altered our account of time, having, as is cuſtomary, loſt almoſt one day in running weſt ſo far round the globe.

When we came in ſight of Batavia, and eſpecially after ſome ſloops had been aboard us, I found, that after ſailing ſo long with them, I was abſolutely a ſtranger to the humours of our people. A few days before, they were perpetually quarrelling and jangling; a diſputed title to a lump of ſugar would have created a tumult, which could have been laid by nothing but the proſpect of a dram; but now there was nothing but hugging and ſhaking by the hand, and bleſſing their ſtars, and queſtioning if there was ſuch a paradiſe upon earth; and all this becauſe

becauſe they had arrack for eight-pence a gallon, and ſugar at a penny a pound: the next minute all together by the ears again; about who ſhould put the ingredients together; for the weather being hot, and the materials exceſſively cheap, labour was now become a very conſiderable thing.

We anchored here in five fathom water, the ground ſo ſoft and ouſy, that the anchor ſinks above a fathom; ſo that it cannot foul: and therefore ſhips always ride ſingle. The town bore ſouth by eaſt, diſtant a mile and an half; and the iſland Onreſt bore north-weſt by north, diſtant two leagues and an half. At this iſland the Dutch clean and careen all their ſhips, and have two wind-mills on it to ſaw timber. They hale their ſhips along-ſide of a wharf, where there are two cranes to diſcharge them, and ſtore-houſes to lay up the goods. The Ducheſs fired thirteen guns to ſalute the Dutch flag; but it being night, he did not anſwer: yet the next morning he ſent his boat aboard, to beg my pardon for that omiſſion, which he would then repair. Soon after, the Duke fired thirteen guns; and the Dutch flag anſwered both our ſhips gun for gun. Between twelve and one, two Engliſh gentlemen came aboard us, the one captain of an Engliſh ſhip, there being three and a ſloop in the road, all belonging to Madraſs. All of us, who were commanders, went aſhore, and landed at Bomb-Key, whence we proceeded to the ſhabander, who conducted us to the caſtle, before Abraham van Ribeck, general of India, who received us very civilly; but was very inquiſitive, and ſhewed viſibly an intention to find ſome pretence for denying us what we aſked, and had occaſion for. To ſatisfy him effectually, and prevent all diſputes, we not only ſhewed him our commiſſions, which, in fact, was all he had a right to demand; but we likewiſe gratified him with an extract of our journal and proceedings, that he might be convinced that we had acted fairly, and done nothing

thing but what was juſtified by our commiſſions. After all, we were forced to bear, not only with his haughty airs, and the natural ſlowneſs of Dutch councils, but with many other diſagreeable circumſtances, that ſhewed us plainly, we owed little, if any thing, to friendſhip or good-will.

Soon after our arrival at Batavia, we went about fitting the Marquis; but, being firſt ordered upon the careen, the ſhabander having allowed us ſeveral Malayan caulkers, when we came down to the bends, we found them, as well as the ſtern and ſtern-poſt, ſo much worm-eaten and rotten, the ſhip being very old, and having only a ſingle bottom, that we ordered a ſurvey of carpenters to view her, who all agreed that there was no fitting her in that place for going about the Cape of Good Hope, her condition being extraordinary bad; which obliged us to hire a veſſel to take out her lading. Then we applied ourſelves to fitting of the other ſhips, but could not, at any rate, obtain leave of the government to repair to the iſle of Orneſt; but were allowed to go to the low ſmall iſland Horn, which is near the other, inhabited by a few Malayan fiſhermen; and on it was abundance of cocoa-nuts, plantain, papa, guava, and other fruit-trees. The government allowed us a ſmall veſſel of that ſort they call champans, to careen our ſhips by. We then hove down the Duke and Ducheſs, and found their ſheathing alſo very much worm-eaten in ſome places. When the ſhips were fitted, we returned again to Batavia road, where we rigged the three, and ſold the Marquis, after taking out all the goods, and moſt of the ſtores, to captain Opie and captain Oldham. Then all the officers and men were diſtributed among the other ſhips, except one Dutchman who ran away.

The weather was extremely hot during our ſtay; many officers and men fell ſick; and I was one of the number. The maſter of the Duke, the gunner of the Ducheſs, and ſeveral of our men died of the flux.

flux. John Read, a young man belonging to the Ducheſs, venturing to ſwim, had both his legs ſnapped off by a ſhark, which, at the ſecond bite, before we could get him on board, took off the bottom of his belly; ſo that he was dead before we could take him up.

The city of Batavia lies on the north-weſt ſide of the famous iſland of Java, in the latitude of 5° 50′. The eaſt and weſt winds blow all the year along the ſhore, beſides the ordinary land and ſea-winds, which exceedingly cool the air, and make it pleaſant; otherwiſe it would be intolerably hot. Their ſummer begins in May, with continual breezes from the eaſt, and a very clear ſky, till the latter end of October, or beginning of November, when the winter begins with hard rains, which hold ſometimes three or four days without intermiſſion. In December the weſt winds blow very violently; ſo that there is little trade on the coaſt of Java. In February the weather is changeable, with ſudden thunder-ſtorms. In March they begin to ſow. June is their pleaſanteſt month. In September they gather in their ſugar and rice. And, in October, they have plenty of fruit and flowers, plants and herbs of moſt ſorts. There is a large, fenny, plain country before the city; but this is exceedingly well improved by the Dutch: and, to the eaſt, it is very full of wood and moraſſes. The city is ſquare, with a river running through it, and fortified by a ſtrong wall, and twenty-two baſtions.

About ten years paſt, there was an earthquake, which overturned part of the mountains in the country, and altered the courſe of the river; ſo that the canals in and about Batavia are not near ſo commodious as they have been, nor the entrance into the river ſo deep: and, for want of a ſtrong current of water to keep it open, they are forced to employ a large engine to preſerve the mouth of the river navigable, for ſmall veſſels to come into the canals of the city. It lies in a bay, in which there are ſeventeen

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or eighteen iſlands, which ſo break off the ſea, that, though the road is very large, yet it is ſafe. The banks of the canals through the city are faced with ſtone on both ſides, as far as the boom, which is ſhut up every night at nine o'clock, and guarded by ſoldiers. There are channels cut out of the main river for ſmaller veſſels; and every boom pays toll.

All the ſtreets run in ſtraight lines, moſt of them being above thirty feet broad on each ſide, clear of the chanels, and paved next the houſes with bricks. All the ſtreets are very well built and inhabited, fifteen of which have chanels; and they reckon fifty-ſix bridges on them, moſt of them of ſtone. The country-ſeats and buildings round the city are generally neat and well-contrived, with handſome gardens for fruit and flowers, fountains, and ſtatues. The vaſt quantities of cocoa-nut-trees every where afford delightful groves. They have fine ſtructures here; particularly the croſs church, built of ſtone, and the inſide very neat. There are two or three churches for the Dutch, and two for the Portugueſe proteſtants, who are a mixt ſort of people. There is one church alſo for the proteſtant Malayans. The town-houſe is built of brick, in a ſquare, about the centre of the city, two ſtories high, and very finely built; where all courts are held, and all matters relating to the civil government of the city are determined; and the ſenators and directors of the military affairs meet. There is an inner court, incloſed with an high wall, and a double row of ſtone pillars, where the officers of juſtice live.

Here are hoſpitals, ſpin-houſes, and raſp-houſes, the ſame as in Amſterdam, with all other public buildings, equal to moſt cities in Europe. The Chineſe have alſo a large hoſpital in this city for their aged and ſick perſons; and manage their charity ſo well, that you never ſee a Chineſe that looks deſpicable in the ſtreet. The Dutch women have greater privileges in India, than in Holland, or any-where elſe; for,

for, on ſlight occaſions, they are divorced from their huſbands, and ſhare the eſtate betwixt them. A lawyer told me at Batavia, he has known, out of fifty-eight cauſes all depending in the council-chamber, fifty-two of them were divorces. Great numbers of the natives, who are criminals, are chained by pairs, and kept at hard labour, under a guard, perpetually clearing the chanels and moats round the city, or any other work for the public. Three leagues weſt from the town is the iſland Onreſt, where all the company's ſhips are refitted. There are magazines of naval ſtores, defended by platforms of guns.

The caſtle at Batavia is quadrangular, lies in a level, and has four baſtions and curtains, faced with white ſtone, and provided with watch-houſes. In this caſtle, or rather citadel, the Dutch governor general, and moſt of the members of the council of India, with the other officers of Batavia, have their reſidence. The governor's palace is of brick, large and well-built. In this palace is the council-chamber, the ſecretary's office, and chamber of accounts. The general's hall is hung with bright armour, enſigns, flags, &c. taken by the Dutch here. The governor gives audience to ſtrangers, who are introduced to him by the ſhabander, who is commiſſioner of the cuſtoms. The garriſon on duty is generally about 1000 ſtrong; and all the outworks are ſaid to be furniſhed with proviſions, as well as can be; but the ſoldiers are kept much under, except the governor's guards, who have large privileges, and make a fine appearance. The governor general lives in as great ſplendor as a king: he has a train and guard, viz. a troop of horſe, and a company of foot, with halbards, in liveries of yellow ſattin, richly adorned with ſilver-lace and fringes, to attend his coach, when he goes abroad. The guards are as well equipped as thoſe of moſt princes in Europe. His lady has alſo her guards and train. He is choſen but for three years, out of the twenty-four counſellors, called rads

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of India, twelve of whom muſt always reſide in the city.

The Chineſe have the greateſt trade here, farm moſt of the exciſe and cuſtoms, live according to their own laws, and are allowed their idolatrous worſhip. They have a chief, that manages their affairs with the company, who allows them great privileges, and particularly a repreſentative in council, who has a vote, when any of the Chineſe are tried for life. But theſe privileges are allowed only to ſuch Chineſe as inhabit here; for others are not permitted to ſtay above ſix months in the town, or on the iſland Java. The other ſtrangers, beſides Europeans, are Malayans, with ſome from moſt parts of India.

The Javaneſe, or antient natives, are numerous, and ſaid to be barbarous and proud, of a dark colour, with flat faces, thin, ſhort, black hair, large eye-brows and cheeks. The men are ſtrong-limbed; but the women are ſmall. The former have a wrapper of calico three or four times round their bodies; and the latter from their arm-pits to their knees. The men have two or three wives, beſide concubines; and the Dutch ſay, they are much addicted to lying and ſtealing. Thoſe on the coaſt are generally Mohammedans; but the others Pagans. The women are not ſo tawny as the men, and many of them handſome; but, in general, amorous, and unfaithful to their huſbands, being very apt to give poiſon, which they do very cunningly. The town is very populous; but not one-ſixth of them Dutch. The Chineſe here go all bare-headed, with their hair rolled up, and long gowns, carrying fans in their hands. The Dutch ſay, they are more induſtrious and acute in trade, than themſelves.

The diſcipline and order of the Dutch here, both in civil and military affairs, is truly admirable. They have all the neceſſaries for building and careening ſhips, as well as in Europe; and their officers as regular as in his majeſty's yards; whereas we have no-

thing like it in India. They keep the natives very much in awe, being perfectly deſpotic in their government; but they are more tender to the Chineſe, becauſe of the great trade they have by their means; and that they pay great rents for their ſhops, beſides large taxes; and from ſixteen to thirty per cent. for money, which they frequently borrow of the Dutch. I was told there are here about 80,000, who pay the Dutch a dollar a head each month, for liberty to wear their hair, which they are not allowed to wear at home, ſince they were conquered by the Tartars. There come hither from China fourteen or ſixteen large junks yearly, being flat-bottomed veſſels, from 3 to 500 tuns burden. The merchants come along with their goods, which are lodged in different partitions in the veſſels, like warehouſes, for which they pay a certain price, and not for the weight or meaſure of the cargo, as we do; ſo they fill them with what they pleaſe. They come in with an eaſterly monſoon, and generally arrive in November or December, and return the beginning of June; ſo that the Dutch have all Chineſe commodities brought to them, cheaper than they can fetch them: and, being conveniently ſituated for the ſpice-trade, they have all in their own hands. Batavia wants no commodities that India affords. They have ſeldom leſs than twenty ſail of ſhips at Java, from thirty to fifty and ſixty guns each, with men enough for them on all occaſions. Their ſoldiers are very well trained, and there is a company always on duty at every gate of the city and citadel; and they have 7 or 8000 diſciplined Europeans in and about the city, who can be aſſembled and ready for action at a very ſhort warning. It is the metropolis of their Indian ſettlements, and ſends governors and officers to all the reſt. The late general, before we came hither, had war with the Indians, which, I was informed, had like to have ſpoiled their ſettlements; but, at laſt, they divided the natives amongſt themſelves, brought them to a

peace on advantageous conditions, and are now pretty ſecure of the ſea-coaſts. There are many pleaſant ſeats about the city, and the adjacent country abounds with rice, ſugar-cane-fields, gardens, and orchards, mills for ſugar, corn, and gunpowder; ſo that this is one of the pleaſanteſt cities in the world. I do not think it ſo large as Briſtol; but it is more populous. They have ſchools for Latin, Greek, &c. and a printing-houſe. They have lately begun to plant coffee here, which thrives very well; ſo that, in a little time, they may be able to load a ſhip or two: but I am told, it is not ſo good as that in Arabia.

On the 17th of October we arrived at the water-place on the main, having ſailed from Batavia on the 14th. On the 19th, at two in the afternoon, we came to an anchor with our beſt bower, in a bay about a league to the weſtward of Java head, in fifteen fathom water, ouſy ground, about a mile from the ſhore; ſent our pinnace for water, and then our ſail-maker, wooders, &c. captain Pike, and Mr. Block, came in a boat from Batavia, the firſt of them, after his ſteward, who had concealed himſelf, unknown to moſt of us, aboard the Batchelor. In the evening, captain Pike lent us his boat and men; we put into her ſeveral of our men, with arms and proviſions from each ſhip; and ſent her away to Pepper Bay, to buy fowls, and other freſh proviſions, giving them for that purpoſe knives, and other toys, which the natives there value above money.

In the evening we had much thunder, lightning, and rain, which put us in fear for the men ſent to Pepper Bay; continued wooding and watering till the 28th, and ſent ſeveral men aſhore to kill buffaloes, which being extremely wild, they could ſhoot none, and durſt not ſtay aſhore at night, by reaſon of the many tygers: one of them was very near ſeizing a man of ours, who, to ſave himſelf was obliged to take the water; at leaſt twenty ſhots were made at the tyger before he went off, and they ſaw ſeveral

others

others at the ſame time. The Indian king, and his people, dealt friendly with us, trucking fowls, and what elſe they had to ſpare, for knives, and the like. They generally came aboard every day, and, we giving them ſome trifle at parting, they were kind to our men aſhore. The wind being commonly at ſouth-eaſt, and a freſh gale, we were under ſome apprehenſions for our men ſent to buy fowls in Pepper Bay, having heard nothing of them ſince their departure, and miſtruſting the boat might be overſet, or the men detained by the Javans. But, on the 25th in the evening, the boat returned, to our great ſatisfaction, with the men, bringing about twelve dozen of fowl, ſome mangoes, &c. captain Pike's ſteward came on board the Ducheſs, hoping we would conceal him; but was immediately ſent on board the Batchelor to his commander, who gladly received, and promiſed to pardon him.

We made land the 15th of December, came in with the ſhore the 18th, and had ſounding in 60 and 70 fathom, the ground grey gret with ſmall ſtones and ſhells; had a ſtrong ſoutherly current, ſouth latitude 34° 2′, longitude 334° 34′ weſt from London. The ſame day we had very hard flaws of wind off the high-land, till we came within ſight of the lion's head and rump, two hills over the Cape Town; and this day we arrived in the harbour of the cape, ſaluted the Dutch fort with nine guns, and were anſwered by ſeven. We anchored in ſix fathom water, about a mile off ſhore, and found only one Engliſh ſhip, called the Donegal, captain Cliff commander, homeward-bound from Mocho, and two Middleburghers, outward-bound for Batavia, in the harbour, beſide the guard-ſhip, and two or three galliots. On the 29th, we moored our ſhip, and got down our yards and top-maſts, to guard againſt the hard flaws of wind off the table-land, which frequently blow very freſh betwixt eaſt ſouth-eaſt and ſouth-eaſt. We ſent ſixteen ſick men aſhore.

On the 1ſt of February, I offered ſome propoſals, in writing, to captains Dover and Courtney, with the reſt of the committee; wherein I told them, it was my opinion, we ſhould loſe too much time to ſtay for the Dutch fleet, in order to have the benefit of her convoy to Holland; which would not only be out of our way, but very tedious and chargeable; and we having large quantities of decaying goods on board, the time we ſhould loſe by waiting for the Dutch, might be advantageouſly employed in Braſil, where we could lie in very little danger of the enemy, and vend them at great rates, and thence get to Briſtol through the north channel, having the ſummer before us, continuing in the latitude of 55° or 56°, two or three hundred leagues before we got the length of the north of Ireland; and by that means, might avoid the track of the enemy. I earneſtly preſſed, that, if they could not agree to this, one of our privateers might take this alone, and the other keep with the Batchelor and Dutch fleet. But the majority was againſt any thing but going home with the Dutch fleet all together; ſo that all I could do more, was to remind them of examining the goods aboard the Batchelor, and to take out of her ſo much goods in ſafe package, as would lie in the like room of European goods, on board the Ducheſs; that, if any accident ſhould happen to the Batchelor, we might have part of her value in another bottom. I deſired, if any amongſt them were not of this opinion, they would give their reaſons to the contrary in writing; but we could agree on nothing.

On April 5, at day-break, the flag hoiſted a blue enſign, looſed the foretop-ſail, and fired a gun, as a ſignal to unmoor: as we were heaving in our cable, it rubbed againſt the oakam, which had got into the leak, and occaſioned the ſhip to be as leaky again as ever, ſhe having been indifferent tight for ſome time, and we were in hopes it would have continued. About noon I came aboard very thin, and in no better health

health than I was when I went firſt aſhore at our arrival here: preſently after I went aboard the flag, there being a ſignal made for all the Engliſh commanders. We had before received our orders, which were very particular, and to be punctually obſerved. About four in the afternoon, the flag, vice, and rear-admirals, weighed with part of the fleet, and fell down to Robins or Penguin iſland, where they lay for the reſt of the ſhips. On the 16th, in the afternoon, we all weigh from Penguin iſland, being ſixteen Dutch, and nine Engliſh ſhips, having a fine freſh breeze at ſouth ſouth-eaſt. The Cape of Good Hope has been ſo often deſcribed, that I do not think it neceſſary to detain the reader with any account of it here *.

There happened nothing remarkable in our voyage till June 5, when the admiral made a ſignal for all the Engliſh commanders, and ſome of the Dutch ſkippers, to come on board; where we found an excellent entertainment; and the good humour of the Dutch admiral ſoon made all the company underſtand each other without a linguiſt, though we had much ado to get one at firſt meeting: we parted before the ſun ſet, and had a fine day. The 28th, being got into the latitude of 51° north, we had thick foggy weather; ſo that the flag fired two guns every half-hour, and each ſhip anſwered with one. This continued ſeveral days, which conſumed a great deal of powder; but, by the noiſe of the guns, it was eaſy to keep company, though ſometimes ſo thick for ſeveral hours, that we could not ſee three ſhips lengths.

On July 14, we ſaw two ſhips in the afternoon; one of which we ſpoke with, being a Dane, bound for Ireland; ſhe informed us of the Dutch men of war that were cruiſing for us off Shetland, (being ten ſail) whom ſhe ſaw four or five days ago, and reckoned herſelf now about forty leagues from the land.

* See Kolbein's account of the cape and its inhabitants, in vol. ii.

We had ſounding then in ſeventy fathom water, brown gravelly ground. I juſt had time to ſend the owners copies of my letters from the Cape of Good Hope; and to let them know, that we were now got ſo far ſafe toward the concluſion of a fatiguing voyage.

In the morning, we made Fair Iſland, and Foul Iſland, lying off Shetland. Preſently after we ſaw the men of war; but, having little wind, and they a good way diſtant from each other, we could join but one of them by noon. The next day all the men of war joined us, except one or two, with the fiſhing-doggers, which were cruiſing off to the north-eaſt of Shetland. After mutual ſalutations, both by the Engliſh and the Dutch ſhips, one of the men of war was ſent out to ſee for the miſſing ſhips. The inhabitants of thoſe iſlands came aboard with what proviſions they had, being very poor people, who ſubſiſt moſtly by fiſhing. On the 17th, I wrote a ſingle letter to the owners in general, by a Scots fiſhing-boat belonging to Shetland, adviſing them of our joining the men of war who were ordered with the fleet to the Texel, where we hoped to meet an Engliſh convoy. The Dutch India admiral, though but a company's ſhip, wears his flag; gives ſignals and orders to the Dutch men of war, which is not ſuffered among the Engliſh; and, in the whole run from the cape, kept an exact diſcipline in the fleet, not ſuffering any of the commanders to go out of the ſhips to viſit each other at ſea without a ſignal, or leave.

On the 23d, the weather being cloſe, the commodore made a ſignal about ten o'clock for ſeeing land; preſently all the fleet anſwered him with their colours. The pilot-boats coming off aboard the ſhips, we parted with the Rotterdam and Middleburgh ſhips, moſt of the men of war going with them to ſee them ſafe in. The flag, and all the Engliſh ſhips, ſaluted the commodore, and afterward we ſaluted the flag, to welcome him in ſight of Holland; and, as ſoon as

they

they were got over the bar, the Dutchmen fired at their ſafe arrival in their own country, which they very affectionately called Fatherland.

About eight at night we all came ſafe to anchor in ſix fathom water, about two miles off ſhore. On the 24th, in the morning, the Dutch flag weighed, in order to go up to the unlivering place: as he paſſed by us, we gave him three huzzas, and nine guns. In the afternoon I went up to Amſterdam, where we had letters from our owners, to direct us how to act, and proceed from hence.

On the 28th, the Engliſh Eaſt India ſhips had orders to be in readineſs for ſailing with the firſt Dutch convoy for London. We got ſome proviſions aboard from Amſterdam on the 30th. When I came aboard, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, by conſent of our council, we diſcharged what men we ſhipped at Batavia and the Cape, and afterward went away from Amſterdam. On the 4th, the Ducheſs and Batchelor went up the road called the Vlicter, being a better road than the Texel. In the evening, we had news of ſome of our owners being at the Hildar: Mr. Pope went to wait upon them, and, in the morning, came aboard with them: after a ſhort ſtay, they went for the Ducheſs and Batchelor, deſigning thence for Amſterdam. We welcomed them with fifteen guns at their coming and going. The Engliſh Eaſt India ſhips, and others, bound for England, weighed with the Dutch convoy the ſame day, having a fine gale at north-eaſt.

On the 6th, we weighed from the Texel, and went up to our conſorts, it being by a particular order from the owners, for our better ſecurity, being obliged to wait here, fearing the India company would be troubleſome, although we had dealt for nothing but neceſſaries in India. In order to obviate this, and convince the world, as well as the Eaſt India company, of our honeſty and good conduct in this reſpect, the officers firſt drew up an affidavit, ſetting forth there never was any commerce carried on in the

Indies, or any tranſactions of buying and ſelling, but for proviſions, and other things, for the ſhips; and, that no ſuſpicion might remain, an abſtract of our journal was drawn up, and the beſt part of the ſhip's company voluntarily ſwore to it. On the 19th in the afternoon, we had news of our convoy lying without the Texel; which was very acceptable to the crews of each ſhip, who were in the utmoſt uneaſineſs at our long ſtay, being juſt at home; ſo that we had much ado to keep the companies aboard, till now we got every thing in readineſs, in order for falling down to them.

On the 20th, about five in the afternoon, we got down to the Texel, where we found our convoy at anchor, being the Eſſex, Canterbury, Medway, and Dulwich men of war. On the 22d in the morning, the wind being at north-eaſt, we weighed from the Texel, and by ten of the clock got clear of the channel. In the afternoon, the commodore took the Batchelor in tow; and next morning, the wind being againſt us, we bore away again for the harbour; as did likewiſe four Dutch men of war, that came out with us, bound for London: after ſeeing us ſafe in, he ſtood off to the northward, with the Canterbury and Medway, but came in the next morning. On the 24th, our officers met, where, conſulting, that our three ſhips wanted neceſſaries to keep the ſea, in caſe we ſhould meet with bad weather, we requeſted captain Roffey our commodore, that he would pleaſe to ſtay, ſhould the wind be fair, till ſuch time as we could be provided with the ſaid neceſſaries from Amſterdam; which was granted. On the 30th, at break of day, we weighed, as did likewiſe four Dutch men of war.

On the 1ſt of October, about eleven o'clock, we came to an anchor in the Downs, where ſeveral of our owners came on board, and, after they had viſited every ſhip, went on ſhore with ſome priſoners, to examine them about our capture, &c. At three this morning,

morning, the Eſſex made a ſignal to unmoor; and betwixt nine and ten weighed, he being ordered up to the Buoy in the Nore, and we to make the beſt of our way to the Hope. October 14, at eleven o'clock, we and our conſort got up to Eriff, where we came to an anchor, which ends our long and fatiguing voyage.

IT was owing to this expedition of Woodes Rogers, that the ſpirit of privateering in the South Seas was not totally loſt in England, where abundance of art had been uſed to propagate an opinion, that it was ſimply impoſſible for any privateer ſquadron to act with ſucceſs, at leaſt for their owners: and that, if any thing was taken, it muſt be in a bucanneering way, that is, for the ſole advantage of the crew. But, in all theſe reſpects, this voyage has undeceived us, and plainly ſhewn, that, under proper command, our people are able to do as great things now, as ever they did in the days of Elizabeth; and, indeed, it is offering the greateſt indignity to our ſeamen to think otherwiſe. Amongſt the reſt of the bug-bears invented to terrify our people from going into thoſe ſeas, one was, the dreadful treatment they met with from the Spaniards, when, by any accident, they fell into their hands. As to this, captain Rogers has ſet the matter in its true light. He deplores the loſs of Mr. Hatley in the moſt affecting terms; probably from an opinion, that he might be ſtarved at ſea, or forced to live aſhore on ſome of the barren Gallapagos iſlands: but he very fairly tells us, that, after that gentleman fell into the hands of the Spaniards, he was very kindly treated, and ſent up to Lima as a priſoner of war, which was what he had reaſon to expect. It is indeed true, that, when he and his boat's company landed at Cape Paſſao, and ſurrendered themſelves, they were very barbarouſly uſed, having their hands tied behind them, hung up by their necks, and almoſt half-flayed with whips: but then, by whom was this done? by a mixed people, the off-ſpring of negroes

negroes and Indians, who bore an implacable hatred to every man of a white complexion, out of meer averſion to the Spaniards. In this diſtreſs they had probably ended their days, but for a prieſt, who interpoſed, and preſerved them.

The next remarkable thing in this voyage, is the prudence ſhewn in the œconomy of it, which ought to recommend it as a precedent on all ſuch occaſions for the future. This excellent management appeared particularly in the method taken of holding councils before any tranſactions of importance, to conſider the proper means for effecting it: and then, when the thing was freſh in every body's head and memory, to bring the conduct of the affair under examination, ſo as to procure another reſolution of the committee, either approving or diſapproving it. By this meaſure all facts were ſo effectually ſettled, that they would admit of no diſputes after they came home; and it is very plain, that the debates which happened aboard, were hindered from growing to a dangerous height by this very method: for, as nothing could be abſolutely determined while they were aboard, every body was anxious and aſſiduous in ſettling properly the papers, upon the teſtimony of which, the ſenſe of their owners, in regard to their conduct, was to be determined.

A third circumſtance that deſerves regard, is the weakneſs of the Spaniards; for it appears plainly, that they were not, at this time, in a much better condition than when Drake and Candiſh ravaged their colonies: and of this captain Rogers was ſo ſenſible, that, in the preface to his book, he lays it down as a thing extremely practicable, not only to plunder the Spaniſh ſettlements on the coaſt, but even to fix garriſons there, which, he thinks, it would not be in the power of the Spaniards to excel, before they received a relief from Britain. It is not eaſy to ſay whether at this time, ſuch a ſcheme as he recommends would be practicable; but this may ſafely be ſaid, that nothing that has ſince happened has ſhewn ſuch a deſign to be impoſſible.

impoſſible. At the time captain Rogers wrote, he had before his eyes the example of the French carrying on, partly with, and partly without, the conſent of the Spaniards, ſuch a commerce in that part of the world, as enabled them to make head againſt the reſt of all Europe: which is a circumſtance that deſerves to be very well conſidered. Since, if the wealth of Spain, in the hands of France, may prove the ruin of all her neighbours, it ſeems to be a natural inference, that it is not only lawful, but abſolutely incumbent upon us, to proſecute the only method that can poſſibly prevent it.

Before this ſubject is diſmiſſed, we cannot but remark the great utility of voyages to the South Seas, but as theſe can never be undertaken but when we are at war with the Spaniards, ſo that opportunity ought never to be let ſlip: ſince, otherwiſe, we are in danger of loſing all knowledge of that navigation, to which we have a right in common with the reſt of mankind; and which, ſome time or other, may turn to the infinite advantage of the Britiſh nation. All the adventurers who have viſited thoſe ſeas from the days of queen Elizabeth to this time, have intimated the mighty advantages that might be expected from our endeavouring to fix in ſome part, rather than be continual wanderers in the South Seas. The grand objection has been, that it is very difficult to furniſh proviſions for ſo long an expedition, or to keep our ſhips ſufficiently manned, ſo as to be in a condition of ſettling when they come hither. But, perhaps, we ought to enquire, whether theſe difficulties really ſpring from the deſign itſelf, or from our method of managing it.

The accurate voyage which immediately follows, contains ſo many valuable facts, obſervations, and juſt reaſoning, of later date, relating to the South Seas; that we may ſpare any farther remarks than what the judicious compiler of that voyage offers, reſpecting the proper meaſures to be taken to turn our knowlege of that remote navigation to a national advantage.

ABSTRACT

OF

A VOYAGE round the WORLD,

By GEORGE ANSON, Eſq;

Afterward LORD ANSON*,

Commander in Chief of a Squadron of his Majeſty's Ships.

As compiled from his Papers, by the Reverend Mr. WALTER, Chaplain of the Centurion.

THE ſquadron under the command of Mr. Anſon having undergone many changes in its deſtination, its force and its equipment, during the ten months between its original appointment and its final ſailing from St. Helens; the hiſtory of theſe alterations is a detail neceſſary to be made public, both for the honour of thoſe who firſt planned and promoted this enterprize, and for the juſtification of thoſe who were entruſted with its execution.

When in the latter end of the ſummer of the year 1739, it was foreſeen that a war with Spain was inevitable, it was the opinion of ſome conſiderable perſons then truſted with the adminiſtration of affairs, that the moſt prudent ſtep the nation could take, was at-

* He was created lord Anſon in 1747, firſt lord of the admiralty in 1751, and in 1761, commanded the ſquadron that brought over the queen, which was the laſt ſervice his lordſhip performed. He died June the ſixth, 1762.

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tacking that crown in her diſtant ſettlements; as by this means it was ſuppoſed that we ſhould cut off the principal reſources of the enemy, and ſhould reduce them to the neceſſity of ſincerely deſiring a peace.

In purſuance of theſe ſentiments, George Anſon, Eſq; then captain of the Centurion, being at that time abſent on a cruiſe, a veſſel was diſpatched to his ſtation ſo early as the beginning of September, and he received orders to return with his ſhip to Portſmouth, and to attend the board of admiralty. When he arrived, he was informed by Sir Charles Wager that two ſquadrons would be immediately fitted out for two ſecret expeditions, which however would have ſome connexion with each other: that he, Mr. Anſon, was intended to command one of them, and Mr. Cornwall the other: that the ſquadron under Mr. Anſon was to take on board three independent companies of a hundred men each, and Bland's regiment of foot: and that, as ſoon as this ſquadron could be fitted for the ſea, they were to ſet ſail, with expreſs orders to touch at no place till they came to Java Head in the Eaſt Indies: that there they were only to ſtop to take in water, and thence to proceed directly to the city of Manilla, ſituated on Luconia, one of the Philippine iſlands: that the other ſquadron was to be of equal force with this commanded by Mr. Anſon, and was intended to paſs round Cape Horn into the South Seas, to range along that coaſt; and after cruiſing upon the enemy in thoſe parts, and attempting their ſettlements, this ſquadron in its return was to rendezvous at Manilla, there to join the ſquadron under Mr. Anſon, where they were to refreſh their men, refit their ſhips, and perhaps receive orders for other conſiderable enterprizes.

This ſcheme was doubtleſs extremely well projected, and could not but greatly advance the public ſervice, and the reputation and fortune of thoſe concerned in its execution: for had Mr. Anſon proceeded for Manilla at the time and in the manner propoſed by

Sir

Sir Charles Wager, he would, in all probability, have arrived there before they had received any advice of the war between us and Spain, and conſequently before they had been in the leaſt prepared for the reception of an enemy. The city of Manilla might be well ſuppoſed to have been at that time in the ſame defenceleſs condition with all the other Spaniſh ſettlements, juſt at the breaking out of the war: that is to ſay, their fortifications neglected, and in many places decayed; their cannon diſmounted, or rendered uſeleſs by the mouldering of their carriages; their magazines, whether of military ſtores or proviſions, all empty; their garriſons unpaid, and conſequently thin, ill-affected, and diſpirited; and the royal cheſts in Peru, whence alone all theſe diſorders could receive their redreſs, drained to the very bottom. The conſequence of this city, and the iſland it ſtands on, may be in ſome meaſure eſtimated, from the known healthineſs of its air, the excellency of its port and bay, the number and wealth of its inhabitants, and the very extenſive and beneficial commerce which it carries on to the principal ports in the Eaſt Indies and China, and its excluſive trade to Acapulco; the returns for which, being made in ſilver, are, upon the loweſt valuation, not leſs than three millions of dollars per annum.

On this ſcheme Sir Charles Wager was ſo intent, that in a few days after this firſt conference, that is, on November 18, Mr. Anſon received an order to take under his command the Argyle, Severn, Pearl, Wager, and Tryal ſloop; and other orders were iſſued to him relating to the victualling of this ſquadron. But Mr. Anſon, attending the admiralty the beginning of January, was informed by Sir Charles Wager, that, for reaſons with which he (Sir Charles) was not acquainted, the expedition to Manilla was laid aſide. It may be conceived, that Mr. Anſon was extremely chagrined at the loſing the command of ſo infallible, ſo honourable, and, in every reſpect, ſo deſirable an enterprize;

eſpecially too, as he had already, at a very great expence, made the neceſſary proviſion for his own accommodation in this voyage, which he had reaſon to expect would prove a very long one. However, Sir Charles, to render this diſappointment in ſome degree more tolerable, informed him, that the expedition to the South Seas was ſtill intended, and that he (Mr. Anſon) and his ſquadron, as their firſt deſtination was now countermanded, ſhould be employed in that ſervice. And, on the 10th of January, he received his commiſſion, appointing him commander in chief of the forementioned ſquadron, which (the Argyle being in the courſe of their preparation changed for the Glouceſter) was the ſame he ſailed with above eight months after from St. Helens. On this change of deſtination, the equipment of the ſquadron was ſtill proſecuted with as much vigour as ever; and the victualling, and whatever depended on the commodore, was ſoon ſo far advanced, that he conceived the ſhips might be capable of putting to ſea the inſtant he ſhould receive his final orders, of which he was in daily expectation. At laſt, on the 28th of June 1740, the duke of Newcaſtle, principal ſecretary of State, delivered to him his majeſty's inſtructions, dated January 31, 1739, with an additional inſtruction from the Lords juſtices, dated June 19, 1740. On the receipt of theſe, Mr. Anſon immediately repaired to Spithead, with a reſolution to ſail with the firſt fair wind, flattering himſelf that all his difficulties were now at an end. For, though he knew by the muſters, that his ſquadron wanted three hundred ſeamen of their complement (a deficiency which, with all his aſſiduity, he had not been able to get ſupplied) yet, as Sir Charles Wager informed him, that an order from the board of admiralty was diſpatched to Sir John Norris, to ſpare him the numbers which he wanted, he doubted not of its being complied with. But, on his arrival at Portſmouth, he found himſelf greatly

greatly miſtaken and diſappointed in this perſuaſion: for, on his application, Sir John Norris told him, he could ſpare him none, for he wanted men for his own fleet. This occaſioned an inevitable and a very conſiderable delay; for it was the end of July before this deficiency was by any means ſupplied, and all that was then done was extremely ſhort of his neceſſities and expectation. For admiral Balchen, who ſucceeded to the command at Spithead, after Sir John Norris had ſailed to the weſtward, inſtead of three hundred ſailors, which Mr. Anſon wanted of his complement, ordered on board the ſquadron a hundred and ſeventy men only, of which thirty-two were from the hoſpital and ſick quarter.

But the commodore's mortification did not end here. It has been already obſerved, that it was at firſt intended that colonel Bland's regiment, and three independent companies, of a hundred men each, ſhould embark as land-forces on board the ſquadron. But this diſpoſition was now changed; and all the land-forces that were to be allowed, were five hundred invalids, to be collected from the out-penſioners of Chelſea college. Mr. Anſon was greatly chagrined at having ſuch a decrepid detachment alloted him; for he was fully perſuaded that the greateſt part of them would periſh long before they arrived at the ſcene of action, ſince the delays he had already encountered, neceſſarily confined his paſſage round Cape Horn to the moſt rigorous ſeaſon of the year. Inſtead of having five hundred, however, there came on board no more than two hundred and fifty-nine: for all thoſe who had limbs and ſtrength to walk out of Portſmouth, deſerted; leaving behind them ſuch only as were literally *invalids*. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive a more moving ſcene, than the embarkation of theſe unhappy veterans, thus hurried from their repoſe into a fatiguing employ, to which neither the ſtrength of their bodies, nor the vigour

of

of their minds, were any way proportioned; and this too, after they had ſpent the activity and ſtrength of their youth in their country's ſervice.

And here it is neceſſary to mention another material particular in the equipment of this ſquadron. It was propoſed to Mr. Anſon, after it was reſolved that he ſhould be ſent to the South Seas, to take with him two perſons, under the denomination of agent victuallers. Thoſe who were mentioned for his employment had formerly been in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, in the South Sea company's ſervice; and it was ſuppoſed, that, by their knowledge and intelligence on that coaſt, they might often procure proviſions for him by compact with the inhabitants, when it was not to be got by force of arms. Theſe agent victuallers, were for this purpoſe, to be allowed to carry to the value of 15,000 l. in merchandize on board the ſquadron: for they had repreſented, that it would be much eaſier for them to procure proviſions with goods, than with the value of the ſame goods in money. Whatever colours were given to this ſcheme, it was difficult to perſuade the generality of mankind, that it was not principally intended for the enrichment of the agents, by the beneficial commerce they propoſed to carry on upon that coaſt. Mr. Anſon from the beginning objected both to the appointment of agent victuallers, and the allowing them to carry a cargo on board the ſquadron; for he conceived, that in thoſe few amicable ports where the ſquadron might touch, he needed not their aſſiſtance to contract for any proviſions the place afforded; and on the enemy's coaſt, he did not imagine that they could ever procure him the neceſſaries he ſhould want, unleſs, which he was reſolved not to comply with, the military operations of his ſquadron were to be regulated by the ridiculous views of their trading projects. All that he thought the government ought to have done on this occaſion, was to put on board to the value of 2 or 3000 l. only of ſuch goods, as

the Indians, or the Spaniſh planters in the leſs cultivated part of the coaſt, might be tempted with: ſince it was in ſuch places only, that he imagined it would be worth while to truck with the enemy for proviſions; and in theſe places, it was ſufficiently evident a very ſmall cargo would ſuffice.

This cargo was at firſt ſhipped on board the Wager ſtore-ſhip, and one of the victuallers; no part of it being admitted on board the men of war. But, when the commodore was at St. Catharine's, he conſidered, that, in caſe the ſquadron ſhould be ſeparated, it might be pretended that ſome of the ſhips were diſappointed of proviſions, for want of a cargo to truck with; and therefore he diſtributed ſome of the leaſt bulky commodities on board the men of war. He left the remainder principally on board the Wager, where it was loſt; and more of the goods periſhing by various accidents to be recited hereafter, no part of them being diſpoſed of upon the coaſt; the few that came home to England did not produce, when ſold, the fourth part of the original price. So true was the commodore's judgment of the event of this project, which had been by many conſidered as infallibly productive of immenſe gains. But to return to the tranſactions at Portſmouth.

To ſupply the place of the invalids which deſerted, as is mentioned above, there were ordered on board, two hundred and ten marines detached from different regiments. Theſe were raw and undiſciplined men; for they being juſt raiſed, had ſcarcely any thing more of the ſoldier than their regimentals; none of them having been ſo far trained as to be permitted to fire. The laſt detachment of theſe marines came on board the 8th of Auguſt, and on the 10th the ſquadron ſailed from Spithead to St. Helen's, there to wait for a fair wind to proceed on the expedition

But the delays already ſuffered had not yet ſpent all their influence; for we were now advanced into a ſeaſon of the year, when the weſterly winds are uſu-

ally very conſtant, and very violent; and it was thought proper that we ſhould put to ſea in company with the fleet commanded by admiral Balchen, and the expedition under lord Cathcart. As we made up in all twenty-one men of war, and a hundred and twenty four ſail of merchantmen and tranſports, we had no hopes of getting out of the channel with ſo large a number of ſhips, without the continuance of a fair wind for ſome conſiderable time This was what we had every day leſs and leſs reaſon to expect, as the time of the equinox drew near; ſo that our golden dreams, and our ideal poſſeſſion of the Peruvian treaſures, grew each day more faint: and the difficulties and dangers of the paſſage round Cape Horn, in the winter ſeaſon, filled our imaginations in their room. It was forty days, from our arrival at St. Helen's, to our final departure from thence; and even then, having orders to proceed without lord Cathcart, we tided it down the channel with a contrary wind. But this interval of forty days was not free from the diſpleaſing fatigue of often ſetting ſail, and being as often obliged to return; nor exempt from dangers, greater than have been ſometimes undergone in ſurrounding the globe. On the 6th of September, being returned to an anchor at St. Helen's, after one of theſe fruitleſs efforts, the wind blew ſo freſh, that the whole fleet ſtruck their yards and topmaſts, to prevent driving: yet, notwithſtanding this precaution, the Centurion drove the next evening, and brought both cables a-head, and we were in no ſmall danger of running foul of the Prince Frederick, a ſeventy-gun ſhip, moored at a ſmall diſtance under our ſtern; though we happily eſcaped, by her driving at the ſame time, and ſo preſerving her diſtance: but we did not think ourſelves ſecure, till we at laſt let go the ſheet-anchor, which fortunately brought us up. Our hopes of a ſpeedy departure were even now ſomewhat damped by a ſubſequent order, which Mr. Anſon received on the 12th of September, and

by which he was required to take under his convoy the St. Alban's, with the Turky fleet, and to join the Dragon and the Wincheſter, with the Straits and the American trade, at Torbay or Plymouth; and to proceed with them to ſea as far as their way and ours lay together. This incumbrance of a convoy gave us ſome uneaſineſs, as we feared it might prove the means of lengthening our voyage to the Maderas. However, Mr. Anſon, now having the command himſelf, immediately ſent directions to Torbay, that the fleets he was there to take under his care, might be in a readineſs to join him inſtantly on his approach. And at laſt, on the 18th of September, he weighed from St. Helen's; and, though the wind was at firſt contrary, had the good fortune to get clear of the channel in four days.

Having thus gone through the reſpective ſteps taken in the equipment of this ſquadron, it is ſufficiently obvious how different an aſpect this expedition bore at its firſt appointment in the beginning of January, from what it had in the latter end of September, when it left the channel; and how much its numbers, its ſtrength, and the probability of its ſucceſs were diminiſhed, by the various incidents which took place in that interval: for, inſtead of all our old and ordinary ſeamen exchanged for ſuch as were young and able, (which the commodore was at firſt promiſed) and having our numbers completed to their full complement; we were obliged to retain our firſt crews, which were very indifferent; and a deficiency of three hundred men in our numbers was no otherwiſe made up, than by ſending on board a hundred and ſeventy men, the greateſt part compoſed of ſuch as were diſcharged from hoſpitals, or new-raiſed marines, who had never been at ſea before: and, in the land-forces allotted us, the change was ſtill more diſadvantageous. But the diminiſhing the ſtrength of the ſquadron was not the greateſt inconveniency which attended

attended theſe alterations; for the conteſts, repreſentations, and difficulties, they continually produced, in which the authority of the admiralty was not always ſubmitted to, occaſioned a delay and waſte of time, that, in its conſequences, was the ſource of all the diſaſters to which this enterprize was afterwards expoſed.

On the 18th of September 1740, the ſquadron, as we have obſerved, weighed from St. Helen's with a contrary wind; the commodore propoſing to tide it down the channel, as he dreaded leſs the inconveniencies he ſhould thereby have to ſtruggle with, than the riſk he ſhould run of ruining the enterprize by an uncertain, and, in all probability, a tedious attendance for a fair wind.

The ſquadron alloted to this ſervice, conſiſted of five men of war, a ſloop of war, and two victualling ſhips. They were the Centurion of ſixty guns, four hundred men, George Anſon, Eſq; commander; the Glouceſter of fifty guns, three hundred men, Richard Norris commander; the Severn of fifty guns, three hundred men, the honourable Edward Legg commander; the Pearl of forty guns, two hundred and fifty men, Matthew Mitchel commander; the Wager of twenty-eight guns, one hundred and ſixty men, Dandy Kidd commander; and the Tryal ſloop of eight guns, one hundred men, the honourable John Murray commander: the two victuallers were pinks, the largeſt of about four hundred, and the other of about two hundred tons burdens. Theſe were to attend us till the proviſions we had taken on board were ſo far conſumed, as to make room for the additional quantity they carried with them, which, when we had taken into our ſhips, they were to be diſcharged. The invalids and marines, under the denomination of land-forces, were commanded by lieutenant-colonel Cracherode. With this ſquadron, together with the St. Alban's and the Lark, and the trade under their convoy, Mr. Anſon tided it down

the channel for the firſt forty-eight hours; and, on the 20th, in the morning, we diſcovered off the Ram-Head, the Dragon, Wincheſter, South Sea Caſtle, and Rye, with a number of merchantmen under their convoy: theſe we joined about noon the ſame day, our commodore having orders to ſee them, together with the St. Alban's and Lark, as far into the ſea as their courſe and ours lay together. When we came in ſight of this laſt mentioned fleet, Mr. Anſon firſt hoiſted his broad pendant, and was ſaluted by all the men of war in company.

When we had joined this laſt convoy, we made up eleven men of war, and about one hundred and fifty ſail of merchantmen, conſiſting of the Turky, the Straits, and the American trade. Mr. Anſon the ſame day made a ſignal for all the captains of the men of war to come on board him, where he delivered them their fighting and ſailing inſtructions, and then, with a fair wind, we all ſtood toward the ſouth-weſt; and the next day at noon, being the 21ſt, we had run forty leagues from the Ram-Head. Being now clear of the land, our commodore, to render our view more extenſive, ordered captain Mitchel, in the Pearl to make ſail two leagues a head of the fleet every morning, and to repair to his ſtation every evening. Thus we proceeded till the 25th, when the Wincheſter and American convoy made the concerted ſignal for leave to ſeparate, which being anſwered by the commodore they left us: as the St. Alban's and the Dragon with the Turky and Straits convoy, did on the 29th. After which ſeparation, there remained in company only our own ſquadron and our own victuallers, with which we kept on our courſe for the iſland of Madera. But the winds were ſo contrary, that we had the mortification to be forty days in our paſſage thither from St. Helen's, though it is known to be often done in ten or twelve. This delay was a moſt unpleaſing circumſtance; ſince as we had departed from England much later

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than we ought to have done, we had placed almoſt all our hopes of ſucceſs in the chance of retrieving, in ſome meaſure at ſea, the time we had ſo unhappily waſted at Spithead and St. Helen's. However, at laſt, on Monday, October the 25th, at five in the morning we, to our great joy, made the land, and in the afternoon came to an anchor in Madera-Road, in forty fathom water; the Brazen-Head bearing from us eaſt by ſouth, the Loo north north weſt, and the great church north north eaſt. The next day, the conſul of the iſland viſiting the commodore, we ſaluted him with nine guns on his coming on board.

This iſland of Madera, where we were now arrived, is famous through all our American ſettlements, for its excellent wines, which ſeem to be deſigned by providence for the refreſhment of the inhabitants of the Torrid Zone. It is ſituated in a fine climate, in the latitude of 32° : 27′ north; and in the longitude from London (by our different reckonings) of 18° ½ to 19° ½ weſt, though laid down in the charts in 17°. It is compoſed of one continued hill, of a conſiderable height extending itſelf from eaſt to weſt: the declivity of which, on the ſouth-ſide, is cultivated and interſperſed with vineyards: and, in the midſt of this ſlope, the merchants have fixed their country-ſeats, which help to form a very agreeable proſpect. There is but one conſiderable town in the whole iſland; it is named Fonchiale, and is ſeated on the ſouth part of the iſland, at the bottom of a large bay. Toward the ſea, it is defended by a high wall, with a battery of cannon, beſide a caſtle on the Loo, which is a rock ſtanding in the water at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore. Fonchiale is the only place of trade, and indeed the only place where it is poſſible for a boat to land; and, even here, the beach is covered with large ſtones, and a violent ſurf continually beats upon it: ſo that the commodore did not care to venture the ſhips long-boats

to fetch the water off, there was ſo much danger of their being loſt. He therefore ordered the captains of the ſquadron to employ Portugueſe boats on that ſervice.

We continued about a week at this iſland, watering our ſhips, and providing the ſquadron with wine and other refreſhments. Here, on the 3d of November, captain Richard Norris ſignified, by a letter to the commodore, his deſire to quit his command on board the Glouceſter, in order to return to England for the recovery of his health. This requeſt the commodore complied with; and thereupon was pleaſed to appoint captain Matthew Mitchel to command the Glouceſter in his room, and to remove captain Kidd from the Wager to the Pearl, and captain Murray from the Tryal ſloop to the Wager, giving the command of the Tryal to lieutenant Cheap. Theſe promotions being ſettled, with other changes in the lieutenancies, the commodore, on the following day, gave to the captains their orders, appointing St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Iſlands, to be the firſt place of rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation; and directing them, if they did not meet the Centurion there, to make the beſt of their way to the iſland of St. Catharine's, on the coaſt of Brazil. The water for the ſquadron being the ſame day completed, and each ſhip ſupplied with as much wine and other refreſhments as they could take in, we weighed anchor in the afternoon, and took our leave of the iſland of Madera. But, before we depart, it may be neceſſary to give ſome account of the proceedings of the enemy, and of the meaſures they had taken to render all our deſigns abortive.

When Mr. Anſon viſited the governor of Madera, he received information from him, that for three or four days, in the latter end of October, there had appeared to the weſtward of that iſland ſeven or eight ſhips of the line, and a patache, which laſt was ſent

every

every day close in to make the land. The governor assured the commodore, upon his honour, that none upon the island had either given them intelligence, or had in any sort communicated with them; but that he believed them to be either French or Spanish, but was rather inclined to think them Spanish. On this intelligence, Mr. Anson sent an officer in a clean sloop, eight leagues to the westward, to reconnoitre them; and, if possible, to discover what they were: but the officer returned, without being able to get a sight of them; so that we still remained in uncertainty. However, we could not but conjecture, that this fleet was intended to put a stop to our expedition; which, had they cruized to the eastward of the island, instead of the westward, they could not but have executed with great facility. For, as in that case they must have certainly fallen in with us, we should have been obliged to throw over-board vast quantities of provisions, to clear our ships for an engagement; and this alone, without any regard to the event of the action, would have effectually prevented our progress. This was so obvious a measure, that we could not help imagining reasons which might have prevented them from pursuing it. We afterward in the course of our expedition, were persuaded that this was the Spanish squadron, commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro, which was sent out purposely to traverse the views and enterprizes of our squadron, to which, in strength, they were greatly superior. As this Spanish armament then was so nearly connected with our expedition, and as the catastrophe it underwent, though not effected by our force, was yet a considerable advantage to this nation, and produced in consequence of our equipment; we will give a summary account of their proceedings, from their first setting out from Spain in the year 1740, till the Asia, the only ship of the whole squadron which returned to Europe, arrived at the Groyne in the beginning of the year 1746.

This

This ſquadron (beſide two ſhips intended for the Weſt Indies, which did not part company till after they had left the Maderas) was compoſed of the following men of war, commanded by Don Joſeph Pizarro. The Aſia of ſixty-ſix guns, and ſeven hundred men; the admiral's ſhip; the Guipuſcoa, of ſeventy-four guns, and ſeven hundred men; the Hermiona, of fifty-four guns, and five hundred men; the Eſperanza, of fifty guns, and four hundred and fifty men; the St. Eſtevan, of forty guns, and three hundred and fifty men: with a patache, of twenty guns. Theſe ſhips, over and above their complement of ſailors and marines, had on board an old Spaniſh regiment of foot, intended to reinforce the garriſons on the coaſt of the South Seas. When this fleet had cruized for ſome days to the leeward of the Maderas, as is before-mentioned, they left that ſtation in the beginning of November, and ſteered for the river Plate, where they arrived the 5th of January O. S. and coming to an anchor in the bay of Maldonado, at the mouth of that river, their admiral Pizarro ſent immediately to Buenos Ayres for a ſupply of proviſions; for they had departed from Spain with only four months proviſions on board. While they lay here expecting this ſupply, they received intelligence, by the treachery of the Portugueſe governor of St. Catharine's, of Mr. Anſon's having arrived at that iſland on the 21ſt of December preceding, and of his preparing to put to ſea again with the utmoſt expedition. Pizarro, notwithſtanding his ſuperior force, had his reaſons (and as ſome ſay, his orders likewiſe) for avoiding our ſquadron any where ſhort of the South Seas. He was beſide extremely deſirous of getting round Cape Horn before us, as he imagined that ſtep alone would effectually baffle all our deſigns: and therefore, on hearing that we were in his neighbourhood, and that we ſhould ſoon be ready to proceed for Cape Horn, he weighed anchor with the five large ſhips, (the patache being diſ-

abled

abled and condemned, and the men taken out of her) after a ſtay of ſeventeen days only, and got under ſail without his proviſions, which arrived at Maldonado within a day or two after his departure. But, notwithſtanding the precipitation with which he departed, we put to ſea from St. Catherine's four days before him, and, in ſome part of our paſſage to Cape Horn, the two ſquadrons were ſo near together, that the Pearl, one of our ſhips, being ſeparated from the reſt, fell in with the Spaniſh fleet, and miſtaking the Aſia for the Centurion, had got within gun-ſhot of Pizarro before ſhe diſcovered her error, and narrowly eſcaped being taken.

It being the 22d of January when the Spaniards weighed from Maldonado, as has been already mentioned, they could not expect to get into the latitude of Cape Horn before the equinox; and as they had reaſon to apprehend very tempeſtuous weather in doubling it at that ſeaſon, and as the Spaniſh ſailors, being for the moſt part accuſtomed to a fair weather country, might be expected to be very averſe to ſo dangerous and fatiguing a navigation; the better to encourage them, ſome part of their pay was advanced to them in European goods, which they were to be permitted to diſpoſe of in the South Seas: that ſo the hopes of the great profit each man was to make on his venture, might render him leſs diſpoſed to repine at the hardſhips and perils he would in all probability meet with, before his arrival on the coaſt of Peru.

Pizarro with his ſquadron having, toward the latter end of February, run the length of Cape Horn, he then ſtood to the weſtward, in order to double it; but in the night of the laſt day of February, O. S. while with this view they were turning to windward, the Guipuſcoa, the Hermiona, and the Eſperanza, were ſeparated from the admiral, and the Hermiona was ſuppoſed to founder at ſea, for ſhe was never heard

heard of more; and the Guipuſcoa was run aſhore, and ſunk on the coaſt of Brazil.

The calamities of all kinds which this ſquadron underwent, in this unſucceſsful navigation, can only be paralleled by what we ourſelves experienced in the ſame climate, when buffetted by the ſame ſtorms. There was indeed ſome diverſity in our diſtreſſes, which rendered it difficult to decide, whoſe ſituation was moſt worthy of commiſeration. For, to all the misfortunes we had in common with each other, as ſhattered rigging, leaky ſhips, and the fatigues and deſpondency, which neceſſarily attend theſe diſaſters; there was ſuperadded on board our ſquadron the ravage of a moſt deſtructive and incurable diſeaſe; and, on board the Spaniſh ſquadron, the devaſtation of famine. For this ſquadron, either from the hurry of their outſet, their preſumption of a ſupply at Buenos Ayres, or from other leſs obvious motives, departed from Spain, with no more than four months proviſion on board, and even that, it is ſaid, at ſhort allowance only. So that, when by the ſtorms they met with off Cape Horn, their continuance at ſea was prolonged a month or more beyond their expectation, they were reduced to ſuch infinite diſtreſs, that rats, when they could be caught, were ſold for four dollars a-piece; and a ſailor, who died on board, had his death concealed for ſome days by his brother, who during that time lay in the ſame hammock with the corpſe, only to receive the dead man's allowance of proviſions.

In this dreadful ſituation they were alarmed, (if their horrors were capable of augmentation) by the diſcovery of a conſpiracy among the marines on board the Aſia, the admiral's ſhip. This had taken its riſe chiefly from the miſeries they endured: for though no leſs was propoſed by the conſpirators than the maſſacring the officers and the whole crew, yet their motive for this bloody reſolution ſeemed to be no more than their deſire of relieving their hunger, by appro-

appropriating the whole ſhips proviſions to themſelves. But their deſigns were prevented, when juſt upon the point of execution, by means of one of their confeſſors: and three of their ring-leaders were immediately put to death. However, though the conſpiracy was ſuppreſſed, their other calamities admitted of no alleviation; but grew each day more and more deſtructive. So that, by the complicated diſtreſs of fatigue, ſickneſs, and hunger, the three ſhips which eſcaped, loſt the greateſt part of their men: the Aſia, their admiral's ſhip, arrived at Monte Vedio, in the river of Plate, with half her crew only; the St. Eſtevan had loſt in like manner half her hands, when ſhe anchored in the bay of Baragan: the Eſperanza, a fifty gun ſhip, was ſtill more unfortunate, for of four hundred and fifty hands, which ſhe brought from Spain, only fifty-eight remained alive, and the whole regiment of foot periſhed, except ſixty men. But, the reader will conceive a more diſtinct and particular idea of what they underwent upon this occaſion, from a ſhort account of the fate of the Guipuſcoa, extracted from a letter, written by Don Joſeph Mendinuetta, her captain, to a perſon of diſtinction at Lima; a copy of which fell into our hands afterward in the South Seas.

He mentions, that he ſeparated from the Hermiona and the Eſperanza in a fog, on the 6th of March, being, as is ſuppoſed, to the ſouth-eaſt of Staten-Land, and plying to the weſtward; that in the night after, it blew a furious ſtorm at north-weſt, which ſplit his main-ſail, and obliged him to bear away with his fore-ſail; that he likewiſe ſprung his main-maſt, and the ſhip made ſo much water, that with four pumps and bailing he could not free her: that on the 9th it was calm, but the ſea continued ſo high, that the ſhip in rolling opened all her upper works and ſeams, and ſtarted the butt ends of her planking, and the greateſt part of her top timbers; the bolts being drawn by the violence of her roll; numbers

every

every day periſhing by the fatigue of pumping; and thoſe who ſurvived, being quite diſpirited by labour, hunger, and the ſeverity of the weather, they having two ſpans of ſnow upon the decks: that then finding the wind fixed in the weſtern quarter, and blowing ſtrong, and conſequently their paſſage to the we ward impoſſible, they reſolved to bear away for the river of Plate: that, on the 2d, they were obliged to throw over-board all the upper deck guns, and an anchor, and to take ſix turns of the cable round the ſhip, to prevent her opening: that the ſhip rolled ſo much, that the main-maſt came by the board; and, in a few hours after, ſhe loſt in like manner her fore-maſt and her mizen-maſt; and that, to accumulate their misfortunes, they were ſoon obliged to cut away their bowſprit, to diminiſh, if poſſible, the leakage at her head: that thoſe who were capable of working at the pumps, (at which every officer without exception took his turn) were allowed only an ounce and half of biſcuit per diem; and thoſe who were ſo ſick or ſo weak, that they could not aſſiſt in this neceſſary labour, had no more than an ounce of wheat; ſo that it was common for the men to fall down dead at the pumps: that they could not immediately ſet up jury-maſts, but were obliged to drive like a wreck, between the latitudes of 32° and 28°, till the 24th of April, when they made the coaſt of Brazil, at Rio de Patas, ten leagues to the ſouthward of the iſland of St. Catharine's: that here they came to an anchor, and that the captain was very deſirous of proceeding to St. Catharine's: if poſſible, in order to ſave the hull of the ſhip, and the guns and ſtores on board her; but the crew inſtantly left off pumping, and being enraged at the hardſhips they had ſuffered, and the numbers they had loſt, (there being at that time no leſs than thirty dead bodies lying on the deck) they all with one voice cried out, ON SHORE, ON SHORE, and obliged the captain to run the ſhip in directly for the land, where, the 5th day after, ſhe

ſunk

ſunk with her ſtores; but the remainder of the crew, whom hunger and fatigue had ſpared, to the number of four hundred, got ſafe on ſhore.

From this account of the adventures and cataſtrophe of the Guipuſcoa, we may form ſome conjecture of the manner in which the Hermiona was loſt, and of the diſtreſſes endured by the three remaining ſhips of the ſquadron, which got into the river Plate. Theſe laſt being in great want of maſts, yards, rigging, and all kinds of naval ſtores, and having no ſupply at Buenos Ayres, nor in any of their neighbouring ſettlements, Pizarro diſpatched an advice-boat with a letter of credit to Rio Janeiro, to purchaſe what was wanting from the Portugueſe. He, at the ſame time, ſent an expreſs acroſs the continent to St. Jago, in Chili, to be thence forwarded to the viceroy of Peru, informing him of the diſaſters that had befallen his ſquadron and deſiring a remittance of 200,000 dollars from the royal cheſts at Lima, to enable him to victual and refit his remaining ſhips, that he might be again in a condition to attempt the paſſage to the South Seas, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year ſhould be more favourable. It is mentioned by the Spaniards as a moſt extraordinary circumſtance, that the Indian charged with this expreſs (though it was then the depth of winter, when the Cordilleras are eſteemed impaſſable on account of the ſnow) was only thirteen days in his journey from Buenos Ayres to St. Jago in Chili, though theſe places are diſtant three hundred Spaniſh leagues, near forty of which are amongſt the ſnows and precipices of the Cordilleras.

The return to this diſpatch of Pizarro's from the viceroy of Peru was no ways favourable: inſtead of 200,000 dollars, the ſum demanded, the viceroy remitted him only 100,000, telling him, that it was with great difficulty he was able to procure him even that.

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The advice-boat ſent to Rio Janeiro alſo executed her commiſſion but imperfectly; for though ſhe brought back a conſiderable quantity of pitch, tar, and cordage, yet ſhe could not procure either maſts or yards: and, as an additional misfortune, Pizarro was diſappointed of ſome maſts he expected from Paraguay. In the October following, Pizarro was preparing to put to ſea with two ſhips, in order to attempt the paſſage round Cape Horn a ſecond time; but the St. Eſtevan, in coming down the river Plate, ran on a ſhoal, and beat off her rudder; on which, and other damages ſhe received, ſhe was condemned and broke up, and Pizarro in the Aſia proceeded to ſea without her. Having now the ſummer before him, and the winds favourable, no doubt was made of his having a fortunate and ſpeedy paſſage; but being off Cape Horn, and going right before the wind in very moderate weather, though in a ſwelling ſea, by ſome miſconduct of the officer of the watch, the ſhip rolled away her maſts, and was a ſecond time obliged to put back to the river of Plate in great diſtreſs.

The Aſia having conſiderably ſuffered in this ſecond unfortunate expedition, the Eſperanza, which had been left behind at Monte Vedio, was ordered to be refitted, the command of her being given to Mindinuetta, who was captain of the Guipuſcoa when ſhe was loſt. He, in the November of the ſucceeding year, that is, in November 1742, ſailed from the river of Plate to the South Seas, and arrived ſafe on the coaſt of Chili; where his commodore Pizarro paſſing over land from Buenos Ayres, met him. There were great animoſities and conteſts between theſe two gentlemen at their meeting, occaſioned principally by the claim of Pizarro to command the Eſperanza, which Mindinuetta had brought round; for Mindinuetta refuſed to deliver her up to him, inſiſting, that as he came into the South Seas alone, and under

no ſuperior, it was not now in the power of Pizarro to reſume that authority which he had once parted with. However, the preſident of Chili interpoſing, and declaring for Pizarro, Mindinuetta, after a long and obſtinate ſtruggle, was obliged to ſubmit.

But Pizarro had not yet completed the ſeries of his adventures; for, when he and Mindinuetta came back by land from Chili to Buenos Ayres, in the year 1745, they found at Monte Vedio the Aſia, which, near three years before, they had left there. This ſhip, they reſolved, if poſſible, to carry to Europe, and with this view they refitted her in the beſt manner they could: but their great difficulty was to procure a ſufficient number of hands to navigate her, for all the remaining ſailors of the ſquadron, to be met with in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres, did not amount to a hundred men. They endeavoured to ſupply this defect by preſſing many of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, and putting on board, beſide, all the Engliſh priſoners then in their cuſtody, together with a number of Portugueſe ſmugglers, which they had taken at different times, and ſome of the Indians of the country. Among theſe laſt there was a chief and ten of his followers, who had been ſurprized by a party of Spaniſh ſoldiers about three months before. The name of this chief was Orellana; he belonged to a very powerful tribe, which had committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres. With this motley crew, (all of them, except the European Spaniards, extremely averſe to the voyage) Pizarro ſet ſail from Monte Vedio in the river of Plate, about the beginning of November 1745: and the native Spaniards, being no ſtrangers to the diſſatisfaction of their forced men, treated both thoſe, the Engliſh priſoners, and the Indians, with great inſolence and barbarity; but more particularly the Indians, for it was common for the meaneſt officers in the ſhip to beat them moſt cruelly on the ſlighteſt pretences, and oftentimes only

to exert their ſuperiority. Orellana and his followers, though in appearance ſufficiently patient and ſubmiſſive, meditated a ſevere revenge for all theſe inhumanities. As he converſed very well in Spaniſh, (theſe Indians having, in time of peace, a great intercourſe with Buenos Ayres) he affected to talk with ſuch of the Engliſh as underſtood that language, and ſeemed very deſirous of being informed how many Engliſhmen there were on board, and which they were. As he knew that the Engliſh were as much enemies to the Spaniards as himſelf, he had doubtleſs an intention of diſcloſing his purpoſes to them, and making them partners in the ſcheme he had projected for revenging his wrongs, and recovering his liberty: but having ſounded them at a diſtance, and not finding them ſo precipitate and vindictive as he expected, he proceeded no farther with them, but reſolved to truſt alone to the reſolution of his ten faithful followers. Having agreed on the meaſures neceſſary to be taken, they firſt furniſhed themſelves with Dutch knives ſharp at the point, which being the common knives uſed in the ſhip, they found no difficulty in procuring: beſide theſe, they employed their leiſure in ſecretly cutting out thongs from raw hides, of which there were great numbers on board, and in fixing to each end of theſe thongs the double-headed ſhot of the ſmall quarter deck guns. This, when ſwung round their heads, according to the practice of their country, was a moſt miſchievous weapon, in the uſe of which the Indians about Buenos Ayres are trained from their infancy, and conſequently are extremely expert. Theſe particulars being in good forwardneſs, the execution of their ſcheme was perhaps precipitated by a particular outrage committed on Orellana himſelf. One of the officers ordered Orellana aloft, which being what he was incapable of performing, the officer, under pretence of his diſobedience, beat him with ſuch violence, that he left him bleeding on the deck, and ſtupified

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for ſome time with his bruiſes and wounds. This uſage undoubtedly heightened his thirſt for revenge, ſo that, within a day or two after this incident, he and his followers opened their deſperate reſolves in the enſuing manner.

It was about nine in the evening, when many of the principal officers were on the quarter-deck, indulging in the freſhneſs of the night air; the waſte of the ſhip was filled with live cattle, and the forecaſtle was manned with its cuſtomary watch. Orellana and his companions, under cover of the night, having prepared their weapons, and thrown off their trowzers and the more cumberous part of their dreſs, came all together on the quarter-deck, and drew toward the door of the great cabin. The boatſwain immediately reprimanded them, and ordered them to be gone. On this Orellana ſpoke to his followers in his native language, when four of them drew off, two towards each gangway, and the chief and the ſix remaining Indians ſeemed to be ſlowly quitting the quarter-deck. When the detached Indians had taken poſſeſſion of the gangway, Orellana placed his hands hollow to his mouth, and bellowed out the war-cry uſed by thoſe ſavages, which is ſaid to be the harſheſt and moſt terrifying ſound in nature. This hideous yell was the ſignal for beginning the maſſacre: for on this they all drew their knives, and brandiſhed their double-headed ſhot; and the ſix with their chief, which remained on the quarter-deck, immediately fell on the Spaniards, who were intermingled with them, and laid near forty of them at their feet. Many of the officers, in the beginning of the tumult, puſhed into the great cabin, where they put out the lights, and barricadoed the door: whilſt of the others, who had avoided the firſt fury of the Indians, ſome endeavoured to eſcape along the gangways into the forecaſtle, where the Indians, placed on purpoſe, ſtabbed the greateſt part of them as they attempted to paſs by; or forced them off the gang-

ways into the waſte. Some threw themſelves voluntarily over the barricadoes into the waſte, and thought themſelves fortunate to lie concealed amongſt the cattle; but the greateſt part eſcaped up the main ſhrouds. Though the Indians attacked only the quarter-deck, yet the watch in the forecaſtle finding their communication cut off, and being terrified by thoſe who, not being killed on the ſpot, had ſtrength ſufficient to force their paſſage, and not knowing either who their enemies were, or what were their numbers, they likewiſe gave all over for loſt, and in great confuſion ran up into the rigging.

Thus theſe eleven Indians, with a reſolution perhaps without example, poſſeſſed themſelves almoſt in an inſtant of the quarter-deck of a ſhip mounting ſixty-ſix guns, and manned with near five hundred hands; and continued in peaceable poſſeſſion of this poſt a conſiderable time. For the officers in the great cabin, amongſt whom were Pizarro and Mindinuetta, the crew between decks, and thoſe who had eſcaped into the tops and rigging, were only anxious for their own ſafety; and were for a long time incapable of forming any project for ſuppreſſing the inſurrection, and recovering the poſſeſſion of the ſhip. It is true, the yells of the Indians, the groans of the wounded, and the confuſed clamours of the crew, all heightened by the obſcurity of the night, had at firſt greatly magnified their danger, and had filled them with the imaginary terrors which darkneſs, diſorder, and an ignorance of the real ſtrength of an enemy never fail to produce. For as the Spaniards were ſenſible of the diſaffection of their preſt hands, and were alſo conſcious of their barbarity to their priſoners, they imagined the conſpiracy to be general, and conſidered their own deſtruction as infallible; ſo that, it is ſaid, ſome of them had once taken the reſolution of leaping into the ſea.

However, when the Indians had entirely cleared the quarter-deck, the tumult in a great meaſure ſubſided;

ſided; for thoſe who had eſcaped were kept ſilent by their fears, and the Indians were incapable of purſuing them to renew the diſorder. Orellana, when he ſaw himſelf maſter of the quarter-deck, broke open the arm-cheſt, which, on a ſlight ſuſpicion of mutiny, had been ordered there a few days before, as to a place of the greateſt ſecurity. Here he took it for granted, he ſhould find cutlaſſes ſufficient for himſelf and his companions, in the uſe of which weapon they were all extremely ſkilful, and with theſe, it was imagined, they propoſed to have forced the great cabin: but on opening the cheſt, there appeared nothing but fire-arms, which to them were of no uſe. There were indeed cutlaſſes in the cheſt, but they were hid by the fire-arms being laid over them. This was a ſenſible diſappointment to them, and by this time Pizarro and his companions in the great cabin were capable of converſing aloud through the cabin-windows and port-holes, with thoſe in the gun-room and between decks, and from hence they learnt that the Engliſh (whom they principally ſuſpected) were all ſafe below, and had not intermeddled in this mutiny: and by other particulars they at laſt diſcovered, that none were concerned in it but Orellana and his people. On this Pizarro and the officers reſolved to attack them on the quarter-deck, before any of the diſcontented on board ſhould ſo far recover their firſt ſurprize, as to reflect on the facility and certainty of ſeizing the ſhip by a junction. With this view Pizarro got together what arms were in the cabin, which were no other but piſtols, and for theſe they had neither powder nor ball. However, having now ſettled a correſpondence with the gun-room, they lowered down a bucket out of the cabin-window, into which the gunner put a quantity of piſtol-cartridges. When they had thus procured ammunition, and had loaded their piſtols, they ſet the cabin door partly open, and fired ſeveral ſhot amongſt the Indians on the quarter-deck, though at firſt without

out effect: but at laſt Mindinuetta, whom we have often mentioned, had the fortune to ſhoot Orellana dead on the ſpot; on which his faithful companions abandoning all thoughts of further reſiſtance, inſtantly leaped into the ſea, where every man periſhed.

Thus was this inſurrection quelled, after the quarter-deck had been full two hours in the power of this great and daring chief, and his gallant unhappy countrymen.

Pizarro having eſcaped this imminent peril, ſteered for Europe, and arrived ſafe on the coaſt of Gallicia in the beginning of the year 1746, after having been abſent between four and five years, and having, by his attendance on our expedition, diminiſhed the naval power of Spain by above three thouſand hands, and by four conſiderable ſhips of war and a patache. Whoever conſiders the very large proportion, which this ſquadron bore to the whole navy of Spain, will confeſs, that, had our undertaking been attended with no other advantages than that of ruining ſo great a part of the ſea-force of ſo dangerous an enemy, this alone would be a ſufficient equivalent for our equipment, and an inconteſtible proof of the ſervice which the nation has thence received. Having thus concluded this ſummary of Pizarro's adventures, we ſhall now return again to the narration of our own tranſactions.

On the third of November we weighed from Madera, after orders had been given to the captains to rendezvous at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd iſlands, in caſe the ſquadron was ſeparated. But the next day, when we were got to ſea, the commodore conſidering that the ſeaſon was far advanced, and that touching at Jago would create a new delay, he for this reaſon thought proper to alter his rendezvous, and to appoint the iſland of St. Catharine's, on the coaſt of Brazil, to be the firſt place to which the ſhips of the ſquadron were to repair in caſe of ſeparation.

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In our paſſage to the iſland of St. Catharine's, we found the direction of the trade-winds to differ conſiderably from what we had reaſon to expect, both from the general hiſtories given of theſe winds, and the experience of former navigators. For though we met with a north-eaſt wind, about the latitude of 28° north, yet from the latitude of 25° to the latitude of 18° north, the wind was never once to the northward of the eaſt, but, on the contrary, almoſt conſtantly to the ſouthward of it. However, from thence to the latitude of 6° 20′ north, we had it uſually to the northward of the eaſt, though not entirely, it having for a ſhort time changed to eaſt ſouth-eaſt. From hence, to about 4° 46′ north, the weather was very unſettled; ſometimes the wind was north-eaſt, then changed to ſouth-eaſt, and ſometimes we had a dead calm, attended with ſmall rain and lightning. After this, the wind continued almoſt invariably between the ſouth and eaſt, to the latitude of 7° 30′ ſouth; and then again, as invariably between the north and eaſt, to the latitude of 15° 30′ ſouth; then eaſt and ſouth-eaſt, to 21° 37′ ſouth. But after this, even to the latitude of 27° 44′ ſouth, the wind was never once between the ſouth and the eaſt, though we had it at times in all the other quarters of the compaſs. But this laſt circumſtance may be in ſome meaſure accounted for, from our approach to the main continent of the Brazils. I mention not theſe particulars with a view of cavilling at the received accounts of theſe trade-winds, which are in general ſufficiently accurate: but I thought it a matter worthy of public notice, that ſuch deviations from the eſtabliſhed rules do ſometimes take place, to guard navigators againſt ſuch unexpected irregularities.

On the 17th of November, the commodore made a ſignal for the ſhips to bring to, and to take on board their ſhares of the brandy from the Induſtry Pink; and in this the long-boats of the ſquadron

were employed the three following days, when the Pink being unloaded, ſhe parted company with us, being bound for Barbadoes, there to take in a freight for England. Moſt of the officers of the ſquadron took the opportunity of writing to their friends at home by this ſhip; but ſhe was afterward unhappily taken by the Spaniards.

On the 20th of November, the captains of the ſquadron repreſented to the commodore, that their ſhips companies were very ſickly, and that it was their own opinion, as well as their ſurgeons, that it would tend to the preſervation of the men to let in more air between decks; but that their ſhips were ſo deep, they could not poſſibly open their lower ports. On this repreſentation, the commodore ordered ſix air-ſcuttles to be cut in each ſhip, in ſuch places where they ſhould leaſt weaken it.

And on this occaſion I cannot but obſerve, how much it is the duty of all thoſe, who either by office or authority, have any influence in the direction of our naval affairs, to attend to this important article, the preſervation of the lives and health of ſeamen. If it could be ſuppoſed, that the motives of humanity were inſufficient for this purpoſe, yet policy, and a regard to the ſucceſs of our arms, and the intereſt and honour of each particular commander, ſhould naturally lead us to a careful and impartial examination of every probable method, propoſed for maintaining a ſhip's crew in health and vigour.

We croſſed the equinoctial with a fine freſh gale at ſouth-eaſt on Friday the 28th of November, at four in the morning, being then in the longitude of 27° 59′ weſt from London: And on the 2d of December, in the morning, we ſaw a ſail but could not come up with her. We were much chagrined at the eſcape of this veſſel, as we then apprehended her to be an advice-boat ſent from Old Spain to Buenos Ayres, with notice of our expedition; but we have ſince

ſince learnt that it was our Eaſt India company's packet bound to St. Helena.

On the 10th of December, being by our accounts in the latitude of 20° ſouth and 36° 30′ longitude weſt from London, the Tryal fired a gun to denote ſoundings. We immediately ſounded, and found ſixty fathom water, the bottom coarſe ground with broken ſhells. The Tryal being a-head of us, had at one time thirty-ſeven fathom, which afterwards increaſed to 90: and then ſhe found no bottom, which happened to us too at our ſecond trial, though we ſounded with a hundred and fifty fathom of line. This is the ſhoal which is laid down in moſt charts by the name of the Abrollos; and it appeared we were upon the very edge of it; perhaps farther in it may be dangerous. We were then, by our different accounts, from ninety to ſixty leagues eaſt of the coaſt of Braſil. The next day but one we ſpoke with a Portugueſe brigantine from Rio Janeiro, bound to Bahia del todos Santos, who informed us that we were thirty-four leagues from cape St. Thomas, and forty leagues from Cape Frio; which laſt bore from us weſt ſouth-weſt. By our accounts we were near eighty leagues from Cape Frio; and though, on the information of this brigantine, we altered our courſe, and ſtood more to the ſouthward, yet by our coming in with the land afterwards, we were fully convinced that our reckoning was much correcter than our Portugueſe intelligence. We found a conſiderable current ſetting to the ſouthward, after we had paſſed the latitude of 16° ſouth: the ſame took place all along the coaſt of Braſil, and even to the ſouthward of the river of Plate, it amounting ſometimes to thirty miles in twenty-four hours, and once to above forty miles.

If this current is occaſioned (as it is moſt probable) by the running off of the water, accumulated on the coaſt of Braſil, by the conſtant ſweeping of the eaſtern trade-wind, over the Ethiopic ocean, then it

it is moſt natural to ſuppoſe, that its general courſe is determined by the bearings of the adjacent ſhore. Perhaps too, in almoſt every other inſtance of currents, the ſame may hold true, as I believe no examples occur of conſiderable currents being obſerved at any great diſtance from land. If this then could be eſtabliſhed as a general principle, it would be always eaſy to correct the reckoning by the obſerved latitude.

We now began to grow impatient for a ſight of land, both for the recovery of our ſick, and for the refreſhment and ſecurity of thoſe who as yet continued healthy. When we departed from St. Helen's, we were in ſo good a condition, that we loſt but two men on board the Centurion, in our long paſſage to Madeira. But in this preſent run between Madeira and St. Catharine's we were remarkably ſickly. The diſorders, in general, were ſuch as are common to the hot climates, and what moſt ſhips bound to the ſouthward experience, in a greater or leſs degree. Theſe are thoſe kind of fevers, which they uſually call calentures: a diſeaſe, which was not only terrible in its firſt inſtance, but even the remains of it often proved fatal to thoſe who conſidered themſelves as recovered from it. For it always left them in a very weak and helpleſs condition, and uſually afflicted either with fluxes or teneſmuſes. By our continuance at ſea, all theſe complaints were every day increaſing, ſo that it was with great joy we diſcovered the coaſt of Braſil on the 16th of December, at ſeven in the morning *.

The coaſt of Braſil appeared high and mountainous land, extending from weſt to weſt ſouth-weſt, and when we firſt ſaw it, it was about ſeventeen leagues diſtant. At noon we perceived a low double land, bearing weſt ſouth weſt, about ten leagues diſ-

* For an account of Braſil, ſee Nieuhoff's Voyage to Braſil, in the preceding part of this work.

tant,

tant, which we took to be the iſland of St. Catharine's. That afternoon and the next morning, the wind being north north-weſt, we gained very little to windward, and were apprehenſive of being driven to the leeward of the iſland; but a little before noon, the next day, the wind came about to the ſouthward, and enabled us to ſteer in between the north point of St. Catharine's, and the neighbouring iſland of Alvoredo. As we ſtood in for the land, we had regular ſoundings, gradually decreaſing, from thirty-ſix to twelve fathom, all muddy ground. In this laſt depth of water we let go our anchor at five o'clock in the evening of the 18th, the north-weſt point of the iſland of St. Catharine's bearing ſouth ſouth-weſt, diſtant three miles; and the iſland of Alvoredo north north-eaſt, diſtant two leagues. Here we found the tide to ſet ſouth ſouth-eaſt, and north north-weſt, at the rate of two knots, the tide of flood coming from the ſouthward. We could, from our ſhips, obſerve two fortifications at a conſiderable diſtance within us, which ſeemed deſigned to prevent the paſſage of an enemy between the iſland of St. Catharine's and the main. And we could ſoon perceive that our ſquadron had alarmed the coaſt, for we ſaw the two forts hoiſt their colours, and fire ſeveral guns, which we ſuppoſed were ſignals for aſſembling the inhabitants. To prevent any confuſion, the commodore immediately ſent a boat with an officer on ſhore, to compliment the governor, and to deſire a pilot to carry us into the road. The governor returned a very civil anſwer, and ordered us a pilot. On the morning of the 20th, we weighed and ſtood in, and toward noon the pilot came on board us, who, the ſame afternoon, brought us to an anchor in five fathom and an half, in a large commodious bay on the continent ſide, called by the French Bon Port. In ſtanding from our laſt anchorage to this place, we every where found an ouzy bottom, with a depth of water firſt regularly decreaſing to five fathom,

and

and then increaſing to ſeven, after which we had ſix and five fathom alternately. The next morning we weighed again with the ſquadron, in order to run above the two fortifications we have mentioned, which are called the caſtles of Santa Cruiz and St. Juan. Our ſoundings now between the iſland and the main were four, five, and ſix fathom, with muddy ground. As we paſſed by the caſtle of Santa Cruiz we ſaluted it with eleven guns, and were anſwered by an equal number; and at one in the afternoon, the ſquadron came to an anchor in five fathom and a half, the governor's iſland bearing north north-weſt, St. Juan's caſtle north-eaſt ½ eaſt, and the iſland of St. Antonio ſouth. In this poſition we moored at the iſland of St. Catharine's on Sunday the 21ſt of December, the whole ſquadron being, as already mentioned, ſickly, and in great want of refreſhments: both which inconveniencies we hoped to have ſoon removed at this ſettlement, celebrated by former navigators for its healthineſs, and the plenty of its proviſions; as well as for the freedom, indulgence, and friendly aſſiſtance there given to the ſhips of all European nations, in amity with the crown of Portugal.

Our firſt care, after having moored our ſhips, was to get our ſick men on ſhore, preparatory to which, each ſhip was ordered by the commodore to erect two tents: one of them for the reception of the diſeaſed, and the other for the accommodation of the ſurgeon and his aſſiſtants. We ſent about eighty ſick from the Centurion; and the other ſhips, I believe, ſent nearly as many, in proportion to the number of their hands. As ſoon as we had performed this neceſſary duty, we ſcraped our decks, and gave our ſhip a thorough cleanſing; then ſmoked it between decks, and after all waſhed every part well with vinegar. Theſe operations were extremely neceſſary, for correcting the noiſome ſtench on board, and for deſtroying the vermin.

Our

Our next employment was wooding and watering our ſquadron, caulking our ſhips ſides and decks, overhauling our rigging, and ſecuring our maſts againſt the tempeſtuous weather we were, in all probability, to meet with in our paſſage round Cape Horn, in ſo advanced and inconvenient a ſeaſon. But before theſe tranſactions are entered upon, it will not be improper to give ſome account of this iſland of St. Catharine's, and of the neighbouring country; both as the circumſtances of this place are now greatly changed from what they were in the time of former writers, and as theſe changes laid us under many more difficulties and perplexities than we had reaſon to expect.

This iſland is eſteemed by the natives to be no where above two leagues in breadth, though about nine in length: it lies in 49° 45′ of weſt longitude of London, and extends from the ſouth latitude of 27° 35′, to that of 28°. Although it be of a conſiderable height, yet it is ſcarce diſcernible at the diſtance of ten leagues, being then obſcured under the continent of Braſil, whoſe mountains are exceeding high: but on a nearer approach it is eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed, and may be readily known by a number of ſmall iſlands, lying at each end, and ſcattered along the eaſt ſide of it.

The north entrance of the harbour is in breadth about five miles; the diſtance from thence to the iſland of St. Antonio is eight miles, and the courſe from the entrance of St. Antonio is ſouth ſouth-weſt ½ weſt. About the middle of the iſland the harbour is contracted by two points of land to a narrow channel, no more than a quarter of a mile broad; and to defend this paſſage, a battery was erecting on the point of land on the iſland ſide. But this ſeems to be a very uſeleſs work, as the channel has no more than two fathom water, and conſequently is navigable only for barks and boats, and therefore ſeems to be a paſſage that an enemy could have no inducement

ment to attempt, eſpecially as the common paſſage at the north end of the iſland is ſo broad and ſafe, that no ſquadron can be prevented from coming in by any of their fortifications, when the ſea-breeze is made. Beſides the battery mentioned above, there are three other forts carrying on for the defence of the harbour, none of which are yet completed. The firſt of theſe, called St. Juan, is built on a point of St. Catharine's near Parrot Iſland; the ſecond, in form of a half-moon, is on the iſland of St. Antonio; and the third, which ſeems to be the chief, and has ſome appearance of a regular fortification, is on an iſland near the continent, where the governor reſides.

The ſoil of the iſland is truly luxuriant; and the ground is covered over with one continued foreſt of trees, of perpetual verdure; which, from the exuberance of the ſoil, are ſo entangled with briars, thorns, and underwood, as to form a thicket abſolutely impenetrable, except by ſome narrow pathways, which the inhabitants have made for their own convenience. Theſe, with a few ſpots cleared for plantations along the ſhore, facing the continent, are the only uncovered parts of the iſland. The woods are extremely fragrant, from the many aromatic trees and ſhrubs with which they abound; and the fruits and vegetables of all climates thrive here, almoſt without culture, and are to be procured in great plenty. The fleſh proviſions are however much inferior to the vegetables: there are indeed ſmall wild cattle to be purchaſed, ſomewhat like buffaloes, but theſe are very indifferent food, their fleſh being of a looſe contexture, and generally of a diſagreeable flavour, which is probably owing to the wild calabaſh on which they feed.

The water both on the iſland and on the oppoſite continent is excellent, and preſerves at ſea as well as that of the Thames; for after it has been in the caſk a day or two, it begins to purge itſelf, and is ſoon covered

covered over with a green ſcum, which, in a few days, ſubſides to the bottom, and leaves the water as clear as cryſtal, and perfectly ſweet. The French (who during their South Sea trade in queen Anne's reign, firſt brought this place into repute) uſually wooded and watered in Bon Port, on the continent ſide, where they anchored with great ſafety in ſix fathom water; and this is doubtleſs the moſt commodious road for ſuch ſhips as intend to make only a ſhort ſtay. But we watered on the St. Catharine's ſide, at a plantation oppoſite to the iſland of St. Antonio.

Theſe are the advantages of this iſland of St. Catharine's; but there are many inconveniencies attending it, partly from its climate, but more from its new regulations, and the late form of government eſtabliſhed there. With regard to the climate, it muſt be remembered, that the woods and hills which ſurround the harbour, prevent a free circulation of the air: and the vigorous vegetation which conſtantly takes place there, furniſhes ſuch a prodigious quantity of vapour, that all the night, and a great part of the morning, a thick fog covers the whole country, and continues till either the ſun gathers ſtrength to diſſipate it, or it is diſperſed by a briſk ſea-breeze. This renders the place cloſe and humid, and probably occaſioned the many fevers and fluxes we were there afflicted with. To theſe exceptions muſt be added, that all the day we were peſtered with great numbers of muſcatos, which are not much unlike the gnats in England, but more venomous in their ſtings. And at ſun-ſet, when the muſcatos retired, they were ſucceeded by an infinity of ſand-flies, which, though ſcarce diſcernible to the naked eye, make a mighty buzzing, and wherever they bite, raiſe a ſmall bump in the fleſh, which is ſoon attended with a painful itching. But as the only light in which this place deſerves our conſideration, is its favourable ſituation for ſupplying and refreſhing our cruizers intended

for

for the South Seas: in this view its greateſt inconveniencies remain ſtill to be related.

In the time of Frezier and Shelvocke, this place ſerved only as a retreat to vagabonds and outlaws, who fled thither from all parts of Braſil. They did indeed acknowledge a ſubjection to the crown of Portugal, and had a perſon among them whom they called their captain, who was conſidered in ſome ſort as their governor: but both their allegiance to their king, and their obedience to their captain, ſeemed to be little more than verbal. In this ſituation they were extremely hoſpitable and friendly to ſuch foreign ſhips as came amongſt them. For theſe ſhips wanting only proviſions, of which the natives had great ſtore; and the natives wanting cloaths, (for they often deſpiſed money, and refuſed to take it) which the ſhips furniſhed them with in exchange for their proviſions; both ſides found their account in this traffick; and their captain or governor had neither power nor intereſt to reſtrain it or to tax it. But of late, for reaſons which ſhall be hereafter mentioned, theſe honeſt vagabonds have been obliged to receive amongſt them a new colony, and to ſubmit to new laws and new forms of government. Inſtead of their former ragged bare-legged captain, whom however they took care to keep innocent, they have now the honour to be governed by Don Joſe Sylva de Paz, a brigadier of the armies of Portugal; whoſe behaviour cannot but be extremely embarraſſing to ſuch Britiſh ſhips as touch there in their way to the South Seas. For one of his practices was placing centinels at all the avenues, to prevent the people from ſelling us any refreſhments, except at ſuch exorbitant rates as we could not afford to give. His pretence for this extraordinary ſtretch of power was, that he was obliged to preſerve their proviſions for upwards of an hundred families, which they daily expected to reinforce their colony. However, this, though ſufficiently provoking, was far from being the moſt exceptionable

ceptionable part of his conduct. For by the neighbourhood of the river Plate, a conſiderable ſmuggling traffic is carried on between the Portugueſe and the Spaniards, eſpecially in the exchanging gold for ſilver, by which both princes are defrauded of their fifths; and in this prohibited commerce Don Joſe was ſo deeply engaged, that in order to ingratiate himſelf with his Spaniſh correſpondents (for no other reaſon can be given for his procedure) he treacherouſly diſpatched an expreſs to Buenos Ayres in the river of Plate, where Pizarro then lay, with an account of our arrival, the ſtrength of our ſquadron, and every circumſtance which he could ſuppoſe our enemy deſirous of being acquainted with. And the ſame perfidy every Britiſh cruizer may expect who touches at St. Catharine's, while it is under the government of Don Joſe Sylva de Paz.

The governor of Rio Grande aſſured us, that in the neighbourhood of this iſland there were conſiderable rivers, which were found to be extremely rich, and which was the reaſon that a garriſon, a military governor, and a new colony was ſettled there. And as the harbour at this iſland is by much the ſecureſt and the moſt capacious of any on the coaſt, it is not improbable, if the riches of the neighbourhood anſwer their expectation, that it may become in time the principal ſettlement in Braſil, and the moſt conſiderable port in all South America.

When we firſt arrived at St. Catharine's, we were employed in refreſhing our ſick on ſhore, in wooding and watering the ſquadron, cleanſing our ſhips, and examining and ſecuring our maſts and rigging, as has been already obſerved. At the ſame time Mr. Anſon gave directions, that the ſhips companies ſhould be ſupplied with freſh meat, and that they ſhould be victualled with whole allowance of all the kinds of proviſions. In conſequence of theſe orders, we had freſh beef ſent on board us continually for our daily expence; and what was wanting to make up our al-

lowance, we received from our victualler the Anna Pink, in order to preſerve the proviſions on board our ſquadron entire for our future ſervice. The ſeaſon of the year growing each day leſs favourable for our paſſage round Cape Horn, Mr. Anſon was very deſirous of leaving this place as ſoon as poſſible; and we were at firſt in hopes that our whole buſineſs would be done, and we ſhould be in a readineſs to ſail in about a fortnight from our arrival: but on examining the Tryal's maſts, we, to our no ſmall vexation, found inevitable employment for twice that time. For, on a ſurvey, it was found that the main-maſt was ſprung at the upper woulding, though it was thought capable of being ſecured by a couple of fiſhes; but the foremaſt was reported to be unfit for ſervice, and thereupon the carpenters were ſent into the woods, to endeavour to find a ſtick proper for a foremaſt. But after a ſearch of four days, they returned without having been able to meet with any tree fit for the purpoſe. This obliged them to come to a ſecond conſultation about the old foremaſt, when it was agreed to endeavour to ſecure it by caſing it with three fiſhes: and in this work the carpenters were employed, till within a day or two of our ſailing. In the mean time, the commodore thinking it neceſſary to have a clean veſſel on our arrival in the South Seas, ordered the Tryal to be hove down, as this would not occaſion any loſs of time, but might be compleated while the carpenters were refitting her maſts, which was done on ſhore.

On the 27th of December we diſcovered a ſail in the offing, and not knowing but ſhe might be a Spaniard, the eighteen oared boat was manned and armed, and ſent under the command of our ſecond lieutenant, to examine her, before ſhe arrived within the protection of the forts. She proved to be a Portugueſe brigantine from Rio Grande. And though our officer, as it appeared on inquiry, had behaved with the utmoſt civility to the maſter, and had refuſed to accept

accept a calf, which the maſter would have forced on him as a preſent; yet the governor took great offence at our ſending our boat, and talked of it as a violation of the peace ſubſiſting between the crowns of Great Britain and Portugal. We at firſt imputed this ridiculous bluſtering to no deeper a cauſe than Don Joſe's inſolence; but as we found he proceeded ſo far as to charge our officer with behaving rudely, and opening letters, and particularly with an attempt to take out of the veſſel, by violence, the very calf which we knew he had refuſed to receive as a preſent; we had hence reaſon to ſuſpect, that he purpoſely ſought this quarrel, and had more important motives for engaging in it, than the mere captious bias of his temper. What theſe motives were, it was not ſo eaſy for us to determine at that time; but as we afterward found by letters, which fell into our hands in the South Seas, that he had diſpatched an expreſs to Buenos Ayres, where Pizarro then lay, with an account of our ſquadron's arrival at St. Catharine's, as mentioned before; we thence conjectured that Don Joſe had raiſed this groundleſs clamour, only to prevent our viſiting the brigantine when ſhe ſhould put to ſea again, leſt we might there find proofs of his perfidious behaviour.

It was near a month before the Tryal was refitted; for not only her lower maſts were defective, as hath been already mentioned, but her main top-maſt and fore-yard were likewiſe decayed and rotten. While this work was carrying on, the other ſhips of the ſquadron fixed new ſtanding rigging, and ſet up a ſufficient number of preventer ſhrouds to each maſt, to ſecure them in the moſt effectual manner. And in order to render the ſhips ſtiffer, to enable them to carry more ſail aboard, and to prevent their ſtraining their upper works in hard gales of wind, each captain had orders given him, to ſtrike down ſome of their great guns into the hold. Theſe precautions being complied with, and each ſhip having taken in

as much wood and water as there was room for, the Tryal was at laſt compleated, and the whole ſquadron was ready for the ſea: on which the tents on ſhore were ſtruck, and all the ſick were received on board. And here we had a melancholy proof how much the healthineſs of this place had been over-rated by former writers; for we found, that though the Centurion alone had buried no leſs than twenty-eight men ſince our arrival, yet the number of her ſick was in the ſame interval increaſed from eighty to ninety-ſix. When our crews were embarked, and every thing was prepared for our departure, the commodore made a ſignal for all captains, and delivered them their orders, containing the ſucceſſive places of rendezvous from hence to the coaſt of China. And then, on the next day, being the 18th day of January, the ſignal was made for weighing, and the ſquadron put to ſea, leaving without regret this iſland of St. Catharine's; where we had been ſo extremely diſappointed in our refreſhments, in our accommodations, and in the humane and friendly offices which we had been taught to expect in a place, ſo much celebrated for its hoſpitality, freedom, and conveniency.

In leaving St. Catharine's, we left the laſt amicable port we propoſed to touch at, and were now proceeding to an hoſtile, or at beſt, a deſart and inhoſpitable coaſt. And as were to expect a more boiſterous climate to the ſouthward than any we had yet experienced, not only our danger of ſeparation would by this means be much greater than it had been hitherto, but other accidents of a more miſchievous nature were likewiſe to be apprehended, and, as much as poſſible, to be provided againſt. Mr. Anſon, therefore, in appointing the various ſtations at which the ſhips of the ſquadron were to rendezvous, had conſidered, that it was poſſible his own ſhip might be diſabled from getting round Cape Horn, or might be loſt; and had given proper direction, that even in

in that caſe the expedition ſhould not be abandoned. The orders delivered to the captains, the day before we ſailed from St. Catharine's, were, that in caſe of ſeparation, which they were with the utmoſt care to endeavour to avoid, the firſt place of rendezvous ſhould be the bay of port St. Julian; deſcribing the place from ſir John Narborough's account of it: there they were to ſupply themſelves with as much ſalt as they could take in, both for their own uſe, and for the uſe of the ſquadron; and if, after a ſtay of ten days, they were not joined by the commodore, they were then to proceed through Straits le Maire round Cape Horn, into the South Seas, where the next place of rendezvous was to be the iſland of Noſtra Senora del Socoro, in the latitude of 45° ſouth, and longitude from the Lizard 71° 12′ weſt. They were to bring this iſland to bear eaſt north-eaſt, and to cruize from five to twelve leagues diſtance from it, as long as their ſtore of wood and water would permit, both which they were to expend with the utmoſt frugality. And when they were under an abſolute neceſſity of a freſh ſupply, they were to ſtand in, and endeavour to find out an anchoring-place; and in caſe they could not, and the weather made it dangerous to ſupply their ſhips by ſtanding off and on, they were then to make the beſt of their way to the iſland of Juan Fernandes, in the latitude of 33° 37′ ſouth. At this iſland, as ſoon as they had recruited their wood and water, they were to continue cruiſing off the anchoring-place for fifty-ſix days; in which time, if they were not joined by the commodore, they might conclude that ſome accident had befallen him, and they were forthwith to put themſelves under the command of the ſenior officer, who was to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to annoy the enemy both by ſea and land. With theſe views their new commodore was to continue in thoſe ſeas as long as his proviſions laſted, or as long as they were recruited by what he ſhould take from the enemy, re-

ſerving only a ſufficient quantity to carry him and the ſhips under his command to Macao, at the entrance of the river of Canton on the coaſt of China, where, having ſupplied himſelf with a new ſtock of proviſions, he was thence, without delay, to make the beſt of his way to England. And as it was found impoſſible as yet to unload our victualler the Anna Pink, the commodore gave the maſter of her the ſame rendezvous, and the ſame orders to put himſelf under the command of the ſame ſenior officer.

Under theſe orders the ſquadron ſailed from St. Catharine's on Sunday the 18th of January, as hath been already mentioned. The next day we had very ſqually weather, attended with rain, lightning, and thunder; but it ſoon became fair again, with light breezes, and continued thus till Wedneſday evening, when it blew freſh again; and increaſing all night, by eight the next morning it became a moſt violent ſtorm, and we had with it ſo thick a fog, that it was impoſſible to ſee at the diſtance of two ſhips length, ſo that the whole ſquadron diſappeared. On this a ſignal was made, by firing guns, to bring to with the larboard tacks, the wind being then due eaſt. We ourſelves immediately handed the top-ſails, bunted the main-ſail, and lay to under a reefed mizen till noon, when the fog diſperſed, and we ſoon diſcovered all the ſhips of the ſquadron, except the Pearl, who did not join us till near a month afterward. Indeed the Tryal ſloop was a great way to leeward, having loſt her main maſt in the ſquall, and having been obliged, for fear of bilging, to cut away the raft. We therefore bore down with the ſquadron to her relief, and the Glouceſter was ordered to take her in tow; for the foul weather did not entirely abate till the day after, and even then a great ſwell continued from the eaſtward, in conſequence of the preceding ſtorm.

After

After this accident we ſtood to the ſouthward with little interruption. And here we experienced the ſame ſetting of the current, which we had obſerved before our arrival at St. Catharine's; that is, we generally found ourſelves to the ſouthward of our reckoning, by about twenty miles each day. This deviation, with a little inequality, laſted till we had paſſed the latitude of the river of Plate; and even then we diſcovered that the ſame current, however difficult to be accounted for, did yet undoubtedly take place; for we were not ſatisfied in deducing it from the error in our reckoning, but we actually tried it more than once, when a calm made it practicable.

As ſoon as we had paſſed the latitude of the river of Plate, we had ſoundings which continued all along the coaſt of Patagonia. Theſe ſoundings, when well aſcertained, being of great uſe in determining the poſition of the ſhip, and we having tried them more frequently, and in greater depths, and with more attention, than I believe hath been done before us; I ſhall recite our obſervations as ſuccinctly as I can. In the latitude of 36° : 52′, we had ſixty fathom of water, with a bottom of fine black and grey ſand; from thence, to 39° : 55′, we varied our depths from fifty to eighty fathom, though we had conſtantly the ſame bottom as before; between the laſt mentioned latitude, and 43° : 16′, we had only fine grey ſand, with the ſame variation of depths, except that we once or twice leſſened our water to forty fathom. After this, we continued in forty fathom for about half a degree, having a bottom of coarſe ſand and broken ſhells, at which time we were in ſight of land, and not above ſeven leagues from it. As we edged from the land, we met with variety of ſoundings; firſt black ſand, then muddy, and ſoon after rough ground with ſtones; but when we had encreaſed our water to forty-eight fathom, we had a muddy bottom to the latitude of 46° : 10′. Hence drawing toward the ſhore, we had firſt thirty ſix fathom, and ſtill

kept ſhoaling our water, till at length we came into twelve fathom, having conſtantly ſmall ſtones and pebbles at the bottom. Part of this time we had a view of Cape Blanco, which lies in about the latitude of 47° : 10′, and longitude weſt from London 69°. This is the moſt remarkable land upon the coaſt. Steering from hence ſouth by eaſt nearly, we, in a run of about thirty leagues, deepened our water to fifty fathom, without once altering the bottom; and then drawing toward the ſhore with a ſouth weſt courſe, varying rather to the weſtward, we had conſtantly a ſandy bottom, till our coming into thirty fathom, where we had again a ſight of land, diſtant from us about eight leagues, lying in the latitude of 48° : 31′. We made this land on the 17th of February, and at five that afternoon we came to an anchor, having the ſame ſoundings as before, in the latitude of 48° : 58′, the ſouthermoſt land then in view bearing ſouth ſouth weſt, the northermoſt north one half eaſt, a ſmall iſland north weſt, and the weſtermoſt hummock weſt ſouth weſt. In this ſtation we found the tide to ſet ſouth by weſt; and weighing again at five the next morning, we, an hour afterward, diſcovered a ſail, upon which the Severn and Glouceſter were both directed to give chace; but we ſoon perceived it to be the Pearl, which ſeparated from us a few days after we left St. Catharine's, and on this we made a ſignal for the Severn to rejoin the ſquadron, leaving the Glouceſter alone in the purſuit. And now we were ſurpriſed to ſee, that on the Glouceſter's approach, the people on board the Pearl encreaſed their ſail, and ſtood from her. However, the Glouceſter came up with them, but found them with their hammocks in their nettings, and every thing ready for an engagement. At two in the afternoon the Pearl joined us, and running up under our ſtern, lieutenant Salt haled the commodore, and acquainted him, that captain Kidd died on the 31ſt of January. He likewiſe informed us, that he had

had ſeen five large ſhips the 10th inſtant, which he, for ſome time, imagined to be our ſquadron: ſo that he ſuffered the commanding ſhip, which wore a red broad pendant, exactly reſembling that of the commodore, at the main top-maſt head, to come within ſhot of him before he diſcovered his miſtake; but then finding it not to be the Centurion, he haled cloſe upon the wind, and crouded from them with all his ſail, and ſtanding croſs a ripling, where they heſitated to follow him, he happily eſcaped. He made them to be five Spaniſh men of war, one of them exceedingly like the Glouceſter, which was the occaſion of his apprehenſions when the Glouceſter chaced him. By their appearance he thought they conſiſted of two ſhips of ſeventy guns, two of fifty, and one of forty guns. It ſeems the whole ſquadron continued in chace of him all that day; but at night, finding they could not get near him, they gave over the chace, and directed their courſe to the ſouthward.

Had it not been for the neceſſity we were under of refitting the Tryal, this piece of intelligence would have prevented our making any ſtay at St. Julian's; but as it was impoſſible for that ſloop to proceed round the cape in her preſent condition, ſome ſtay there was inevitable; and therefore the ſame evening we came to an anchor again in twenty-five fathom water, the bottom a mixture of mud and ſand, and the high hummock bearing ſouth weſt by weſt. And weighing at nine in the morning, we ſent the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and Severn in ſhore, to diſcover the harbour of St. Julian, while the ſhips kept ſtanding along the coaſt, about the diſtance of a league from the land. At ſix o'clock we anchored in the bay of St. Julian, in nineteen fathom, the bottom muddy ground with ſand, the northermoſt land in ſight bearing north and by eaſt, the ſouthermoſt ſouth one half eaſt; and the high hummock, to which Sir John Narborough formerly gave the name of

Wood's-

Wood's-Mount, weſt ſouth weſt. Soon after the cutter returned on board, having diſcovered the harbour, which did not appear to us in our ſituation, the northermoſt point ſhutting in upon the ſouthermoſt, and in appearance cloſing the entrance.

Being come to an anchor in this bay of St. Julian, principally with a view of refitting the Tryal, the carpenters were immediately employed in that buſineſs, and continued ſo during our whole ſtay at the place. The Tryal's main-maſt having been carried away about twelve feet below the cap, they contrived to make the remaining part of the maſt ſerve again, and the Wager was ordered to ſupply her with a ſpare main top-maſt, which the carpenters converted into a new fore-maſt. And I cannot help obſerving, that this accident to the Tryal's maſt, which gave us ſo much uneaſineſs at that time, on account of the delay it occaſioned, was, in all probability, the means of preſerving the ſloop, and all her crew. For before this, her maſts, how well ſoever proportioned to a better climate, were much too lofty for theſe high ſouthern latitudes: ſo that, had they weathered the preceding ſtorm, it would have been impoſſible for them to have ſtood againſt thoſe ſeas and tempeſts we afterward encountered in paſſing round Cape Horn.

Whilſt we ſtaid at this place, the commodore appointed the honourable captain Murray to ſucceed to the Pearl, and captain Cheap to the Wager; and he promoted Mr Charles Saunders, his firſt lieutenant, to the command of the Tryal. But captain Saunders lying dangerouſly ill of a fever on board the Centurion, and it being the opinion of the ſurgeons, that the removing him on board his own ſhip, in his preſent condition, might tend to the hazard of his life, Mr. Anſon gave an order to Mr. Saumarez, firſt lieutenant of the Centurion, to act as maſter and commander of the Tryal, during the illneſs of captain Saunders.

Here

Here the commodore too, in order to eaſe the expedition of all unneceſſary expences, held a farther conſultation with his captains about unloading and diſcharging the Anna Pink; but they repreſented to him, that they were ſo far from being in a condition of taking any part of her loading on board, that they had ſtill great quantities of proviſions in the way of their guns between decks, and that their ſhips were withal ſo very deep, that they were not fit for action without being cleared. This put the commodore under a neceſſity of retaining the Pink in the ſervice: and, as it was apprehended we ſhould certainly meet with the Spaniſh ſquadron, in paſſing the cape, Mr. Anſon thought it adviſeable to give orders to the captains, to put all their proviſions, which were in the way of their guns, on board the Anna Pink, and to remount ſuch of their guns as had formerly, for the eaſe of their ſhips, been ordered into the hold.

This bay of St. Julian, where we are now at anchor, being a convenient rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation, for all cruizers bound to the ſouthward, and the whole coaſt of Patagonia, from the river of Plate to the Straits of Magellan, lying nearly parallel to their uſual route, a ſhort account of the ſingularity of this country, with a particular deſcription of Port St. Julian, may perhaps be neither unacceptable to the curious, nor unworthy the attention of future navigators; as ſome of them, by unforeſeen accidents, may be obliged to run in with the land, and to make ſome ſtay on this coaſt; in which caſe the knowledge of the country, its produce, and inhabitants, cannot but be of the utmoſt conſequence to them.

To begin then with the tract of country uſually ſtyled Patagonia. This is the name often given to the ſouthermoſt part of South America, which is unpoſſeſſed by the Spaniards, extending from their ſettlements to the Straits of Magellan. This country,

try, on the eaſt ſide, is extremely remarkable for a peculiarity not to be parallelled in any other known part of the globe: for, though the whole territory to the northward of the river of Plate is full of wood, and ſtored with immenſe quantities of large timber trees; yet, to the ſouthward of the river, no trees of any kind are to be met with, except a few peach-trees, firſt planted and cultivated by the Spaniards, in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres: ſo that on the whole eaſtern coaſt of Patagonia, extending near four hundred leagues in length, and reaching as far back as any diſcoveries have yet been made, no other wood has been found than a few inſignificant ſhrubs. Sir John Narborough in particular, who was ſent out, by king Charles the ſecond, expreſsly to examine this country, and the Straits of Magellan, and who, in purſuance of his orders, wintered upon this coaſt, in Port St. Julian and Port Deſire, in the year 1670, tells us, that he never ſaw a ſtick of wood in the country large enough to make the handle of an hatchet.

But though the country be ſo deſtitute of wood, it abounds with paſture. For the land appears in general to be made up of downs of a light dry gravelly ſoil, and produces great quantities of long coarſe graſs, which grows in turfs, interſperſed with large barren ſpots of gravel between them. This graſs, in many places, feeds immenſe herds of cattle: for the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres, having, ſoon after their firſt ſettling there, brought over a few black cattle from Europe, they have thriven prodigiouſly by the plenty of herbage which they every where met, and are now encreaſed to that degree, and are extended ſo far into different parts of Patagonia, that they are not conſidered as private property; but many thouſands at a time are ſlaughtered every year by the hunters, only for their hides and tallow. The manner of killing theſe cattle, being a practice peculiar to that part of the world, merits a more circumſtantial

deſcription. The hunters employed on this occaſion being all of them mounted on horſeback, (and both the Spaniards and Indians in that part of the world are uſually moſt excellent horſemen) they arm themſelves with a kind of a ſpear, which, at its end, inſtead of a blade, pointed in the uſual manner, has its blade fixed a-croſs: with this inſtrument they ride at a beaſt and ſurround him, when the hunter that comes behind him ham-ſtrings him. And as after this operation the beaſt ſoon tumbles, without being able to raiſe himſelf again, they leave him on the ground, and purſue others, whom they ſerve in the ſame manner. Sometimes there is a ſecond party, who attend the hunters, to ſkin the cattle as they fall: but it is ſaid, that at other times the hunters chuſe to let them languiſh in torment till the next day, from an opinion that the anguiſh, which the animal in the mean time endures, may burſt the lymphatics, and thereby facilitate the ſeparation of the ſkin from the carcaſe. And though their prieſts have loudly condemned this moſt barbarous practice, and have gone ſo far, if my memory does not fail me, as to excommunicate thoſe who follow it; yet all their efforts to put an entire ſtop to it have hitherto proved ineffectual.

Beſide the number of cattle, which are every year ſlaughtered for their hides and tallow, in the manner already deſcribed, it is often neceſſary, for the uſes of agriculture, and for other purpoſes, to take them alive, without wounding them: this is performed with a moſt wonderful and almoſt incredible dexterity, and principally by the uſe of a machine, which the Engliſh, who have reſided at Buenos Ayres, generally denominate a laſh. It is made of a thong of ſeveral fathoms in length, and very ſtrong, with a running nooſe at one end of it: this the hunters (who in this caſe are alſo mounted on horſeback) take in their right hands, it being firſt properly coiled up, and having its end oppoſite to the nooſe faſtened to the ſaddle; and thus prepared they ride at a herd of cattle.

cattle. When they arrive within a certain diſtance of a beaſt, they throw their thong at him with ſuch exactneſs, that they never fail of fixing the nooſe about his horns. The beaſt, when he finds himſelf entangled, generally runs; but the horſe, being ſwifter, attends him, and prevents the thong from being too much ſtrained, till a ſecond hunter, who follows the game, throws another nooſe about one of its hind legs; and this being done, both horſes (for they are trained to this practice) inſtantly turn different ways, in order to ſtrain the two thongs in contrary directions, on which the beaſt, by their oppoſite pulls, is preſently overthrown, and then the horſes ſtop, keeping the thongs ſtill upon the ſtretch. Being thus on the ground, and incapable of reſiſtance, (for he is extended between the two horſes) the hunters alight, and ſecure him in ſuch a manner, that they afterwards eaſily convey him to whatever place they pleaſe. They in like manner nooſe horſes, and, as it is ſaid, even tigers; and, however ſtrange this laſt circumſtance may appear, there are not wanting perſons of credit who aſſert it.

The cattle which are killed in the manner already obſerved, are ſlaughtered only for their hides and tallow, to which ſometimes are added their tongues; but the reſt of their fleſh is left to putrify, or to be devoured by the birds and wild beaſts. The greateſt part of this carrion falls to the ſhare of the wild dogs, of which there are immenſe numbers to be found in that country; originally ſuppoſed to have been produced by Spaniſh dogs from Buenos Ayres, who, allured by the great quantity of carrion, and the facility they had by that means of ſubſiſting, left their maſters, and ran wild; for they are plainly of the breed of the European dogs, an animal not originally found in America. But though theſe dogs are ſaid to be ſome thouſands in a company, they hitherto neither diminiſh nor prevent the increaſe of the cattle, not daring to attack the herds, by reaſon

of the numbers which conſtantly feed together, but contenting themſelves with the carrion left them by the hunters, and perhaps now and then with a few ſtragglers, who by accidents are ſeparated from the main body they belong to.

Beſide the wild cattle, which have ſpread themſelves in ſuch vaſt herds from Buenos Ayres towards the ſouthward, the ſame country is in like manner furniſhed with horſes. Theſe too were firſt brought from Spain, and are alſo prodigiouſly encreaſed, and run wild to a much greater diſtance than the black cattle: and though many of them are excellent, yet their number makes them of very little value; the beſt of them being often ſold, in the neighbouring ſettlements, where money is plenty and commodities very dear, for not more than a dollar a-piece. But, whatever plenty of fleſh proviſions may be found here, there is one material refreſhment which this eaſtern ſide of Patagonia ſeems to be very defective in, and that is freſh water; for the land being generally of a nitrous and ſaline nature, the ponds and ſtreams are frequently brackiſh: however, as good water has been found there, though in ſmall quantities, it is not improbable, but, on a further ſearch, this inconvenience may be removed.

To the account already given, muſt be added, that there are, in all parts of this country, a good number of Vicunnas, or Peruvian ſheep; but theſe, by reaſon of their ſhyneſs and ſwiftneſs, are killed with difficulty. On the eaſtern coaſt too, there are found immenſe quantities of ſeals, and a vaſt variety of ſea-fowl, among which the moſt remarkable are the Penguins; they are in ſize and ſhape like a gooſe; but, inſtead of wings, they have ſhort ſtumps like fins, which are of no uſe to them, except in the water: their bills are narrow, like that of an albitroſs, and they ſtand and walk in an erect poſture. From this, and their white bellies, Sir John Narborough whimſically likened them to little children ſtanding up in white aprons.

The

The inhabitants of this eaſtern coaſt appear to be but few, and have rarely been ſeen more than two or three at a time, by any ſhips that have touched here. We, during our ſtay at the port of St. Julian, ſaw none. However, towards Buenos Ayres, they are ſufficiently numerous, and oftentimes very troubleſome to the Spaniards; but there the greater breadth and variety of the country, and a milder climate yield them a better protection; for in that place the continent is between three and four hundred leagues in breadth; whereas, at Port St. Julian, it is little more than a hundred: ſo that I conceive the ſame Indians, who frequent the weſtern coaſt of Patagonia, and the Straits of Magellan, often ramble to this ſide. As the Indians near Buenos Ayres exceed theſe ſouthern Indians in number, ſo they greatly ſurpaſs them in activity and ſpirit, and ſeem in their manners to be nearly allied to thoſe gallant Chilian Indians, who have long ſet the whole Spaniſh power at defiance, have often ravaged their country, and remain to this hour independent. For the Indians about Buenos Ayres have learnt to be excellent horſemen, and are extremely expert in the management of all cutting weapons, though ignorant of the uſe of fire-arms, which the Spaniards are very ſollicitous to keep out of their hands. And, of the vigour and reſolution of theſe Indians, the behaviour of Orellana and his followers, whom we have formerly mentioned, is a memorable inſtance. Indeed, were we diſpoſed to aim at the utter ſubverſion of the Spaniſh power in America, no means ſeem more probable to effect it, than due encouragement and aſſiſtance given to theſe Indians, and thoſe of Chili.

Thus much may ſuffice in relation to the eaſtern coaſt of Patagonia. The weſtern coaſt is of leſs extent; and by reaſon of the Andes, which ſkirt it, and ſtretch quite down to the water, is a very rocky and dangerous ſhore. However, we ſhall now return to St. Julian; where it muſt be remembered, that the

bar

bar at the entrance, is often ſhifting, and has many holes in it. The tide flows here north and ſouth, and at full and change, riſes four fathom.

We, on our firſt arrival here, ſent an officer on ſhore in order to procure a quantity of ſalt for the uſe of the ſquadron, Sir John Narborough having obſerved, when he was there, that the ſalt produced in that place was very white and good, and that in February there was enough to fill a thouſand ſhips: but our officer returned with a ſample which was very bad, and he told us, that even of this there was but little to be got; poſſibly the weather had been more rainy than ordinary, and had deſtroyed it.

The Tryal being nearly refitted, which was our principal occupation at this bay of St. Julian, and the ſole occaſion of our ſtay, the commodore thought it neceſſary, as we were now directly bound for the South Seas, and the enemy's coaſts, to fix the plan of his firſt operations: and therefore, on the 24th of February, a ſignal was made for all captains, and a council of war was held on board the Centurion; at which were preſent the honourable Edward Legg, captain Matthew Mitchel, the honourable George Murray, captain David Cheap, together with colonel Mordaunt Cracherode, commander of the land-forces. At this council Mr. Anſon propoſed, that their firſt attempt, after their arrival in the South Seas, ſhould be the attack of the town and harbour of Baldivia, the principal frontier of the diſtrict of Chili. Mr. Anſon informed them, at the ſame time, that it was an article contained in his majeſty's inſtructions to him, to endeavour to ſecure ſome port in the South Seas, where the ſhips of the ſquadron might be careened and refitted. To this propoſition made by the commodore, the council unanimouſly and readily agreed; and, in conſequence of this reſolution, new inſtructions were given to the captains of the ſquadron, by which, though they were ſtill directed, in caſe of ſeparation, to make the beſt of their way to

the iſland of Neuſtra Senora del Socoro, yet (notwithſtanding the orders they had formerly given them at St. Catharine's) they were to cruiſe off that iſland only ten days; from whence, if not joined by the commodore, they were to proceed, and cruiſe off the harbour of Baldivia, making the land between the latitudes of 40°, and 40° : 30′, and taking care to keep to the ſouthward of the port: and, if in fourteen days they were not joined by the reſt of the ſquadron, they were then to quit ſtation, and to direct their courſe to the iſland of Juan Fernandes, after which they were to regulate their further proceedings by their former orders. The ſame directions were alſo given to the maſter of the Anna Pink, who was not to fail in anſwering the ſignals made by any ſhip of the ſquadron, and was to be very careful to deſtroy his papers and orders, if he ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the enemy. And, as the ſeparation of the ſquadron might prove of the utmoſt prejudice to his majeſty's ſervice, each captain was ordered to give in charge to the reſpective officers of the watch, not to keep their ſhip at a greater diſtance from the Centurion than two miles, as they would anſwer it at their peril: and, if any captain ſhould find his ſhip beyond the diſtance ſpecified, he was to acquaint the commodore with the name of the officer who had thus neglected his duty.

Theſe neceſſary regulations being eſtabliſhed, and the Tryal ſloop completed, the ſquadron weighed on Friday the 27th of February, at ſeven in the morning, and ſtood to ſea; the Glouceſter, indeed, found a difficulty in purchaſing her anchor, and was left a conſiderable way a-ſtern, ſo that in the night we fired ſeveral guns as a ſignal to her captain to make ſail, but he did not come up to us till the next morning; when we found that they had been obliged to cut their cable, and leave their beſt bower behind them. Standing now to the ſouthward, we had great expectation

tation of falling in with Pizarro's ſquadron; for, during our ſtay at Port St. Julian, there had generally been hard gales between the weſt north weſt and ſouth weſt, ſo that we had reaſon to conclude the Spaniards had gained no ground upon us in that interval. Indeed, it was the proſpect of meeting with them that had occaſioned our commodore to be ſo very ſolicitous to prevent the ſeparation of our ſhips: for, had we been ſolely intent on getting round Cape Horn in the ſhorteſt time, the propereſt method for this purpoſe would have been, to have ordered each ſhip to have made the beſt of her way to rendezvous, without waiting for the reſt.

On the 4th of March we were in ſight of Cape Virgin Mary, and not more than ſix or ſeven leagues diſtant from it. This Cape is the northern boundary of the entrance of the Straits of Magellan; it lies in the latitude of 52° : 21′ ſouth, and longitude from London 71° : 44′ weſt, and ſeems to be a low flat land, ending in a point. Off this Cape our depth of water was from thirty-five to forty-eight fathom. The afternoon of this day was very bright and clear, with ſmall breezes of wind, inclinable to a calm, and moſt of the captains took the opportunity of this favourable weather to pay a viſit to the commodore: but, while they were in company together, they were all greatly alarmed by a ſudden flame, which burſt out on board the Glouceſter, and which was ſucceeded by a cloud of ſmoke. However, they were ſoon relieved from their apprehenſions, by receiving information, that the blaſt was occaſioned by a ſpark of fire from the forge lighting on ſome gun-powder and other combuſtibles, which an officer on board was preparing for uſe, in caſe we ſhould fall in with the Spaniſh fleet; and that it had been extinguiſhed, without any damage to the ſhip.

We here found, what was conſtantly verified by all our obſervations in theſe high latitudes, that fair weather was always of an exceeding ſhort duration,

and that when it was remarkably fine, it was a certain preſage of a ſucceeding ſtorm; for the calm and ſunſhine of our afternoon ended in a moſt turbulent night. The wind freſhened from the ſouth weſt as the night came on, and encreaſed its violence continually till nine in the morning the next day, when it blew ſo hard, that we were obliged to bring to with the ſquadron, and to continue under a reefed mizen till eleven at night, having in that time from forty-three to fifty-ſeven fathom water, with black ſand and gravel: and by an obſervation we had at noon, we concluded a current had ſet us twelve miles to the ſouthward of our reckoning. Toward midnight the wind abating, we made ſail again; and ſteering ſouth, we diſcovered in the morning, for the firſt time, the land called Terra del Fuego, ſtretching from the ſouth by weſt to the ſouth eaſt one half eaſt. This indeed afforded us but a very uncomfortable proſpect, it appearing of a ſtupendous height, covered every where with ſnow. We ſteered along this ſhore all day, having ſoundings from forty to fifty fathom, with ſtones and gravel. And, as we intended to paſs through Straits le Maire next day, we lay-to at night, that we might not overſhoot them, and took this opportunity to prepare ourſelves for the tempeſtuous climate we were ſoon to be engaged in: with this view we employed ourſelves good part of the night in bending an entire new ſuit of ſails to the yards. At four the next morning, being the 7th of March, we made ſail, and at eight we ſaw the land; and ſoon after we began to open the Straits; at which time Cape St. James bore from us eaſt ſouth eaſt, Cape St. Vincent ſouth eaſt one-half eaſt, the middlemoſt of The Three Brothers ſouth and by weſt, Montegorda ſouth, and Cape St. Bartholomew (which is the ſouthermoſt point of Staten-land) eaſt ſouth eaſt. If we had not happened to have coaſted a conſiderable way along ſhore, we might have miſſed the Straits, and have got to the eaſtward of Staten-land before

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A CHART of the Southern Part of SOUTH AMERICA;

With the Track of the Centurion *from the Island of* St. Catherines *to the Island of* Juan Fernandes, *in which is inserted the Variation and Soundings observ'd on board her, together with her Deviation from her estimated Course in passing round* Cape Horn, *occasion'd by the force of the Currents.*

J. Gibson sculp.

BRAZIL
LA PLATA
CHILI
PATAGONIA
TERRA DEL FUEGO
Falkland Isles

S. Catherines I.
Here the Tryal lost her Mainmast
Rio Grande
Var: 15d E.
C. Marias
Rio de la Plata
Var: 18d E.
50 fa. fine grey Sand with black specks
C. St. Andrew
Bay Anegada
46 fa.
56 fa. fine dark Sand
58 fa.
60 fa. fine dark grey Sand
60 fa.
Var: 19d 10m E.
Porto de los Leon
50 fa. fine dark grey Sand
48 fa.
42 fa. dark grey Sand with small Stones
50 fa. Oozy Ground
Var: 19d E.
50 fa. soft mud with Sand
Var: 20d E.
17 fa. Pebble stones with Shells & Sand
25 fa. ditto
Cape Blanco
Pto Desire
Pepys I.
38 fa. Stones & Shells
43
54 fa.
30
31 fa.
12 fa. fine black Sand
The Port of St. Julian
Var: 19d 50m E.
42 fa. dark grey Sand
48 fa. do
pto de la Cruz
Selzaeld de Werds Is.
55
40 fa do
32
48 fa. do
Falkland Sound
Falkland Isles
C. S. Catalina
R. Gallegos
Cape Virgin Mary
C. Gregory
Pockets B.
Straits of Magellan
Q. Katherine's Foreland
C. de Pinas
20 fa. dark grey Sand
Cape Victory
Sounds running inland
Straits Sol
Bathelor's R.
Elizabeth B.
The 4 Evangelists
Straits of Magellan
C. Diseada
The 12 Apostles
Here we were by our Reckoning when we made Cape Noir
C. Noir
Whale Sound
Fish R.
St. Sebastian
Eb. and Flood Sound
Tuesday's Cape
Tuesday's Sound
Tofano
Fortescue well known
I. S. Diago Ramores
C. Horn
Agnes
C. le Maire
C. St. John
Staten I.
C. St. Bartholomew
Var: 22d 30m E.
Falsebay
Terra del Fuego
Hermites I.
S. Alfonso I.
Barnevelds Is.
Commodore Anson's Track allowing for a Western Current
Commodore Anson's Track not allowing for a Western Current
These Arrows show the setting of the Current
Juan Fernandes
Masa Fuero
Valparaiso
St. Jago
St. Marca
Conception
Isle Mocha
Baldavia
Carelmapo
Chiloe Isles
I. Guaffo
I. of Nostra Seigr Socoro
Var: 11d E.
Var: 10d 15m E.
A Harbour where Commodore Anson's Victualler anchor'd and found Refreshments
Guasco
Coquimbo

we knew it. This is an accident that has happened to many ſhips; particularly, as Frazier mentions, to the Incarnation and Concord, who, intending to paſs through Straits le Maire, were deceived by three hills on Staten-land, like The Three Brothers, and ſome creeks reſembling thoſe of Terra del Fuego, and thereby overſhot the Straits.

On occaſion of this mention of Staten-land, we muſt remark, that though Terra del Fuego had an aſpect extremely barren and deſolate, yet this iſland of Staten-land far ſurpaſſes it, in the wildneſs and horror of its appearance: it ſeeming to be entirely compoſed of inacceſſible rocks, without the leaſt mixture of earth, or mould, between them. Theſe rocks terminate in a vaſt number of ragged points, which ſpire up to a prodigious height, and are all of them covered with everlaſting ſnow: the points themſelves are on every ſide ſurrounded with frightful precipices, and often over-hang in a moſt aſtoniſhing manner; and the hills which bear them, are generally ſeparated from each other by narrow clefts, which appear as if the country had been frequently rent by earthquakes; for theſe chaſms are nearly perpendicular, and extend through the ſubſtance of the main rocks, almoſt to their very bottoms: ſo that nothing can be imagined more ſavage and gloomy, than the whole aſpect of this coaſt. But to proceed:

I have above mentioned, that on the 7th of March, in the morning, we opened Straits le Maire, and ſoon after, or about ten o'clock, the Pearl and Tryal being ordered to keep a-head of the ſquadron, we entered them with fair weather and a briſk gale, and were hurried through by the rapidity of the tide in about two hours, though they are between ſeven and eight leagues in length. As theſe ſtraits are often eſteemed to be the boundary between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and as we preſumed we had nothing before us from hence but an open ſea,

till we arrived on thoſe opulent coaſts where all our hopes and wiſhes centered, we could not help perſuading ourſelves, that the greateſt difficulties of our voyage were now at an end, and that our moſt ſanguine dreams were upon the point of being realiſed. Thus animated by theſe flattering deluſions, we paſſed thoſe memorable ſtraits, in fine ſerene weather, ignorant of the dreadful calamities which were then impending, and juſt ready to break upon us; ignorant that the time drew near, when the ſquadron would be ſeparated never to unite again, and that this day of our paſſage was the laſt chearful day that the greateſt part of us would ever live to enjoy.

We had ſcarcely reached the ſouthern extremity of the Straits le Maire, when our flattering hopes were inſtantly loſt in the apprehenſions of immediate deſtruction: for, before the ſternmoſt ſhips of the ſquadron were clear of the Straits, we obſerved all the preſages of an impending ſtorm. Preſently the wind ſhifted to the ſouthward, and blew in ſuch violent ſqualls, that we were obliged to hand our topſails, and reef our main-ſail; whilſt the tide too, which had hitherto favoured us, at once turned furiouſly againſt us, and drove us to the eaſtward with prodigious rapidity; ſo that we were in great anxiety for the Wager and Anna Pink, the two ſternmoſt veſſels. And now the whole ſquadron, inſtead of purſuing their intended courſe to the ſouth weſt, were driven to the eaſtward by the united force of the ſtorm, and of the currents; ſo that next day in the morning we found ourſelves near ſeven leagues to the eaſtward of Straits le Maire, which then bore from us north weſt. The violence of the current, which had ſet us with ſo much precipitation to the eaſtward, together with the fierceneſs and conſtancy of the weſterly winds, ſoon taught us to conſider the doubling of Cape Horn as an enterprize that might prove too mighty for our efforts, though ſome amongſt us had lately treated the difficulties which former voyagers were ſaid to have

have met with in this undertaking as little better than chimerical, and had ſuppoſed them to ariſe rather from timidity and unſkilfulneſs, than from the real embarraſſments of the winds and ſeas: but we were now ſeverely convinced, that theſe cenſures were raſh and ill-grounded.

From the ſtorm which came on before we had well got clear of Straits le Maire, we had a continual ſucceſſion of ſuch tempeſtuous weather, as ſurpriſed the oldeſt and moſt experienced mariners on board; and obliged them to confeſs, that, what they had hitherto called ſtorms, were inconſiderable gales, compared with the violence of theſe winds, which raiſed ſuch ſhort, and at the ſame time ſuch mountainous waves, as greatly ſurpaſſed in danger all ſeas known in any other part of the globe. It was not without great reaſon, that this unuſual appearance filled us with continual terror; for, had any one of theſe waves broke fairly over us, it muſt, in all probability, have ſent us to the bottom. Nor did we eſcape with terror only; for the ſhip rolling inceſſantly gunwale to, gave us ſuch quick and violent motions, that the men were in perpetual danger of being daſhed to pieces againſt the decks, or ſides of the ſhip. And though we were extremely careful to ſecure ourſelves from theſe ſhocks, by graſping ſome fixed body, yet many of our people were forced from their hold; ſome of whom were killed, and others greatly injured.

Theſe tempeſts, ſo dreadful in themſelves, though unattended by any other unfavourable circumſtance, were yet rendered more miſchievous to us by their inequality, and the deceitful intervals which they at ſome times afforded. For though we were oftentimes obliged to lie-to for days together under a reefed mizen, and were frequently reduced to lie at the mercy of the waves under our bare poles, yet now and then we ventured to make ſail with our courſes double-reefed, and the weather proving more tolerable, would perhaps encourage us to ſet our top-ſails; after which

the wind, without any previous notice, would return upon us with redoubled force, and would in an inſtant tear our ſails from the yards. And, that no circumſtance might be wanting which could heighten our diſtreſs, theſe blaſts generally brought with them a great quantity of ſnow and ſleet, which caſed our rigging, and froze our ſails, thereby rendering them and our cordage brittle and apt to ſnap upon the ſlighteſt ſtrain. This added greatly to the difficulty and labour of working the ſhip; benumbing the limbs of our people, and making them incapable of exerting themſelves with their uſual activity, and even diſabling many of them, by mortifying their toes and fingers. It were endleſs to enumerate the various diſaſters of different kinds which befel us during the courſe of this navigation. The ſhip, by labouring in this lofty ſea, was now grown ſo looſe in her upper works, that ſhe let in the water at every ſeam, ſo that every part within board was conſtantly expoſed to the ſea-water, and ſcarcely any of the officers ever lay in dry beds. Indeed it was very rare that two nights ever paſſed without many of them being driven from their beds, by the deluge of water that came in upon them.

On the 23d we had a moſt violent ſtorm of wind, hail, and rain, with a very great ſea; and though we handed the main top-ſail before the height of the ſquall, yet we found the yard ſprung; and ſoon after the foot-rope of the main-ſail breaking, the main-ſail itſelf ſplit inſtantly to rags, and, in ſpite of our endeavours to ſave it, much the greater part of it was blown over-board. On this the commodore made the ſignal for the ſquadron to bring-to; and the ſtorm at length flattening to a calm, we had an opportunity of getting down our main top-ſail yard to put the carpenters to work upon it, and of repairing our rigging. After which, having bent a new mainſail, we got under ſail again, with a moderate breeze: but, in leſs than twenty-four hours,

we

we were attacked by another ſtorm ſtill more furious than the former; for it proved a perfect hurricane, and reduced us to the neceſſity of lying-to under our bare poles. As our ſhip kept the wind better than any of the reſt, we were obliged, in the afternoon, to wear ſhip, in order to join the ſquadron to the leeward, which otherwiſe we ſhould have been in danger of loſing in the night: and, as we dared not venture any ſail abroad, we were obliged to make uſe of an expedient, which anſwered our purpoſe; this was putting the helm a-weather, and manning the fore-ſhrouds. But though this method proved ſucceſsful for the end intended, yet, in the execution of it, one of our ableſt ſeamen was canted over-board: we perceived, that, notwithſtanding the prodigious agitation of the waves, he ſwam very ſtrong, and it was with the utmoſt concern that we found ourſelves incapable of aſſiſting him. Indeed, we were the more grieved at his unhappy fate, as we loſt ſight of him ſtruggling with the waves, and conceived, from the manner in which he ſwam, that he might continue ſenſible, for a conſiderable time longer, of the horror attending his irretrievable ſituation.

Before this laſt mentioned ſtorm was quite abated, we found two of our main-ſhrouds, and one mizen-ſhroud, broke; all which we knotted, and ſet up immediately. From hence we had an interval of three or four days leſs tempeſtuous than uſual, but accompanied with a thick fog, in which we were obliged to fire guns almoſt every half-hour, to keep our ſquadron together. On the 31ſt we were alarmed by a gun fired from the Glouceſter, and a ſignal made by her to ſpeak with the commodore. We immediately bore down to her, and were prepared to hear of ſome terrible diſaſter; but we were appriſed of it before we joined her, for we ſaw that her main-yard was broke in the ſlings. This was a grievous misfortune to us all at this juncture; as it was obvious

vious it would prove a hindrance to our ſailing, and would detain us the longer in theſe inhoſpitable latitudes. But our future ſucceſs and ſafety was not to be promoted by repining, but by reſolution and activity; and therefore, that this unhappy incident might delay us as little as poſſible, the commodore ordered ſeveral carpenters to be put on board the Glouceſter from the other ſhips of the ſquadron, in order to repair her damage with the utmoſt expedition. And the captain of the Tryal complaining at the ſame time, that his pumps were ſo bad, and his ſloop made ſo great a quantity of water that he was ſcarcely able to keep her free, the commodore ordered him a pump ready fitted from his own ſhip. It was very fortunate for the Glouceſter and the Tryal, that the weather proved more favourable this day than for many days both before and after; ſince by this means they were enabled to receive the aſſiſtance which ſeemed eſſential to their preſervation, and which they could ſcarcely have had at any other time, as it would have been extremely hazardous to have ventured a boat on board.

The next day, that is, on the 1ſt of April, the weather returned again to its cuſtomary bias: and on the third there came on a ſtorm, which both in its violence and continuation (for it laſted three days) exceeded all that we had hitherto encountered. In its firſt onſet we received a furious ſhock from a ſea which broke upon our larboard quarter, where it ſtoved in the quarter-gallery, and ruſhed into the ſhip like a deluge; our rigging too ſuffered extremely from the blow: among the reſt, one of the ſtraps of the main dead-eyes was broke, as was alſo a main-ſhroud and puttock-ſhroud; ſo that, to eaſe the ſtreſs upon the maſts and ſhrouds, we lowered both our main and fore-yards, and furled all our ſails, and in this poſture we lay-to for three days, when the ſtorm ſomewhat abating, we ventured to make ſail under our courſes only. But even this we could not do long;

long; for the next day, which was the 7th, we had another hard gale of wind, with lightening and rain, which obliged us to lie-to again till night. It was wonderful, that, notwithſtanding the hard weather we had endured, no extraordinary accident had happened to any of the ſquadron ſince the breaking of the Glouceſter's main-yard: but this good fortune now no longer attended us; for, at three the next morning, ſeveral guns were fired to leeward as ſignals of diſtreſs: and the commodore making a ſignal for the ſquadron to bring-to, we, at day-break, ſaw the Wager a conſiderable way to leeward of any of the other ſhips, and ſoon perceived that ſhe had loſt her mizen-maſt and top-ſail yard. We immediately bore down to her, and found this diſaſter had ariſen from the badneſs of her iron-work; for all the chain-plates to windward had given way, upon the ſhip's fetching a deep roll. This proved the more unfortunate to the Wager, as her carpenter had been on board the Glouceſter ever ſince the 31ſt of March, and the weather was now too ſevere to permit him to return. Nor was the Wager the only ſhip of the ſquadron that ſuffered in this tempeſt; for, the next day, a ſignal of diſtreſs was made by the Anna Pink, and, upon ſpeaking with the maſter, we learnt that they had broke their fore-ſtay, and the gammon of the bowſprit, and were in no ſmall danger of having all their maſts come by the board; ſo that we were obliged to bear away until they had made all faſt, after which we haled upon a wind again.

And now, after all our ſollicitude, and the numerous ills of every kind to which we had been inceſſantly expoſed for near forty days, we had great conſolation in the flattering hopes we entertained, that our fatigues were drawing to a period, and that we ſhould ſoon arrive in a more hoſpitable climate, where we ſhould be amply repayed for all our paſt ſufferings. For, toward the latter end of March, we were advanced by our reckoning near 10° to the weſtward of

of the weſtermoſt point of Terra del Fuego; and this allowance being double what former navigators have thought neceſſary to be taken, in order to compenſate the drift of the weſtern current, we eſteemed ourſelves to be well advanced within the limits of the Southern Ocean, and had therefore been ever ſince ſtanding to the northward with as much expedition as the turbulence of the weather, and our frequent diſaſters permitted. And on the 13th of April, we were but a degree in latitude to the ſouthward of the weſt entrance of the ſtraits of Magellan; ſo that we fully expected, in a very few days, to have experienced the celebrated tranquillity of the Pacific Ocean.

But theſe were deluſions, which only ſerved to render our diſappointments more terrible: for the next morning, between one and two, as we were ſtanding to the northward, and the weather, which had till then been hazy, accidentally cleared up, the Pink made a ſignal for ſeeing land right a-head; and, it being but two miles diſtant, we were all under the moſt dreadful apprehenſions of running on ſhore; which, had either the wind blown from its uſual quarter with its wonted vigour, or had not the moon ſuddenly ſhone out, not a ſhip amongſt us could poſſibly have avoided: but the wind, which ſome few hours before blew in ſqualls from the ſouth-weſt, having fortunately ſhifted to weſt north-weſt, we were enabled to ſtand to the ſouthward, and to clear ourſelves of this unexpected danger; and were fortunate enough by noon to have gained an offing of near twenty leagues.

By the latitude of this land we fell in with, it was agreed to be a part of Terra del Fuego, near the ſouthern outlet deſcribed in Frezier's chart of the Straits of Magellan, and was ſuppoſed to be that point called by him Cape Noir. It was indeed moſt wonderful, that the currents ſhould have driven us to the eaſtward with ſuch ſtrength; for the whole

ſquadron

ſquadron eſteemed themſelves upwards of ten degrees more weſterly than this land: ſo that in running down, by our account, about nineteen degrees of longitude, we had not really advanced half that diſtance. And now, inſtead of having our labours and anxieties relieved by approaching a warmer climate and more tranquil ſeas, we were to ſteer again to the ſouthward, and were again to combat thoſe weſtern blaſts which had ſo often terrified us; and this too, when we were greatly enfeebled by our men falling ſick and dying apace, and when our ſpirits, dejected by a long continuance at ſea, and by our late diſappointment, were much leſs capable of ſupporting us in the various difficulties which we could not but expect in this new undertaking. Add to all this too, the diſcouragement we received by the diminution of the ſtrength of the ſquadron; for, three days before this, we loſt ſight of the Severn and the Pearl in the morning, and though we ſpread our ſhips, and beat about for them ſome time, yet we never ſaw them more. Full of deſponding thoughts and gloomy preſages, we ſtood away to the ſouth-weſt, prepared by our late diſaſter to ſuſpect, that how large ſoever an allowance we made in our weſting for the drift of the weſtern current, we might ſtill, upon a ſecond trial, perhaps find it inſufficient.

The improper ſeaſon of the year in which we attempted to double Cape Horn, and to which is to be imputed the diſappointment of falling in with Terra del Fuego, when we reckoned ourſelves above a hundred leagues to the weſtward of that whole coaſt, and, conſequently, well advanced into the Pacific Ocean; this unſeaſonable navigation, I ſay, to which we were neceſſitated by our too late departure from England, was the fatal ſource of all the misfortunes we afterward encountered. For, from hence proceeded the ſeparation of our ſhips, the deſtruction of our people, the ruin of our project on Baldivia, and of all our other views on the Spaniſh

places;

places; and the reduction of our ſquadron, from the formidable condition in which it paſſed Straits le Maire, to a couple of ſhattered half-manned cruiſers and a ſloop, ſo far diſabled, that in many climates they ſcarcely durſt have put to ſea. To prevent therefore, as much as poſſible, all ſhips hereafter bound to the South Seas from ſuffering the ſame calamities, we ſhall inſert in this place ſuch directions and obſervations, as either experience and reflection, or the converſation of the moſt ſkilful navigators on board the ſquadron could furniſh, in relation to the moſt eligible manner of doubling Cape Horn; whether in regard to the ſeaſon of the year, the courſe proper to be ſteered, or the places of refreſhment both on the eaſt and weſt ſides of South America.

And firſt, with regard to the proper place for refreſhment on the eaſt ſide of South America. For this purpoſe the iſland of St. Catharine's has been uſually recommended by former writers, and on their faith we put in there, as has been formerly mentioned: but the treatment we met with, and the ſmall ſtore of refreſhments we could procure there, are ſufficient reaſons to render all ſhips for the future cautious, how they truſt themſelves in the government of Don Joſe Sylva de Paz. And though future governors ſhould themſelves deteſt ſo faithleſs a procedure, yet as ſhips are perpetually paſſing from ſome or other of the Braſil ports to the river of Plate, the Spaniards could ſcarcely fail of receiving, by this means, caſual intelligence of any Britiſh ſhips upon the coaſt: which however imperfect ſuch intelligence might be, would prove of dangerous import to the views and intereſts of thoſe cruiſers who were thus diſcovered.

For the Spaniſh trade in the South Seas running all in one track from north to ſouth, with very little deviation to the eaſtward or weſtward, it is in the power of two or three cruiſers, properly ſtationed in different

different parts of this track, to poſſeſs themſelves of every ſhip that puts to ſea: but this is only ſo long as they can continue concealed from the neighbouring coaſt; for the inſtant an enemy is known to be in thoſe ſeas, all navigation is prohibited, and conſequently all captures are at an end. Since the Spaniards, well apprized of theſe advantages of the enemy, ſend expreſſes along the coaſt, and lay a general embargo on all their trade; a meaſure, which they prudentially foreſee, will not only prevent their veſſels being taken, but will ſoon lay any cruiſers, who have not ſtrength ſufficient to attempt their places, under neceſſity of returning home. Hence then appears the great importance of concealing all expeditions of this kind; and hence too it follows, how extremely prejudicial that intelligence may prove, which is given by the Portugueſe governors to the Spaniards, in relation to the deſigns of ſhips touching at the ports of Braſil.

However, notwithſtanding the inconveniencies we have mentioned of touching on the coaſt of Braſil, it will oftentimes happen, that ſhips bound round Cape Horn will be obliged to call there for a ſupply of wood and water, and other refreſhments. In this caſe St. Catharine's is the laſt place I would recommend, both as the proper animals for a live ſtock at ſea, as hogs, ſheep, and fowls, cannot be procured there, (for want of which we found ourſelves greatly diſtreſſed, by being reduced to live almoſt entirely on ſalt proviſions) and alſo becauſe, from its being nearer the river of Plate than many of their other ſettlements, the inducements and conveniencies of betraying us are much ſtronger. The place I would recommend is Rio Janeiro, where two of our ſquadron put in after they were ſeparated from us in paſſing Cape Horn: for here any quantity of hogs and poultry may be procured; and this place being more diſtant from the river of Plate, the difficulty of intelligence is ſomewhat inhanced, and conſequently

ly the chance of continuing there undiſcovered, in ſome degree augmented.

I next proceed to the conſideration of the proper courſe to be ſteered for doubling Cape Horn. And here, I think, I am ſufficiently authorized by our own fatal experience, and by a careful compariſon and examination of the journals of former navigators, to give this piece of advice, which in prudence I think ought never to be departed from: that is, that all ſhips bound to the South Seas, inſtead of paſſing through Straits le Maire, ſhould conſtantly paſs to the eaſtward of Staten-land, and ſhould be invariably bent on running to the ſouthward, as far as the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, before they endeavoured to ſtand to the weſtward; and that when they are got into that latitude, they ſhould then make ſure of ſufficient weſting, before they once think of ſteering to the northward.

But as directions diametrically oppoſite to theſe have been formerly given by other writers, it is incumbent to produce reaſons for each part of this maxim. And firſt, as to the paſſing to the eaſtward of Staten-land. Thoſe who have attended to the riſque we ran in paſſing Straits le Maire, the danger we were in of being driven upon Staten-land by the current, when, though we happily eſcaped being put on ſhore, we were yet carried to the eaſtward of that iſland: thoſe who reflect on this, and the like accidents which have happened to other ſhips, will ſurely not eſteem it prudent to paſs through Straits le Maire, and run the riſque of ſhipwreck, and after all find themſelves no farther to the weſtward (the only reaſon hitherto given for this practice) than they might have been in the ſame time, by a ſecure navigation in an open ſea.

And next, as to the directions I have given for running into the latitude of 61 or 62 ſouth, before any endeavour is made to ſtand to the weſtward: the reaſons for this precept are, that in all probability

the violence of the currents will be hereby avoided; and the weather will prove leſs tempeſtuous and uncertain. This laſt circumſtance we ourſelves experienced moſt remarkably. The air indeed was very cold and ſharp, and we had ſtrong gales, but they were ſteady and uniform, and we had at the ſame time ſunſhine and a clear ſky; whereas in the lower latitudes, the winds every now and then intermitted, as it were, to recover new ſtrength, and then returned ſuddenly in the moſt violent guſts, threatening at each blaſt the loſs of our maſts, which muſt have ended in our certain deſtruction. And that the currents, in this high latitude, would be of much leſs efficacy than nearer the land, ſeems to be evinced from theſe conſiderations, that all currents run with greater violence near the ſhore than at ſea, and that at great diſtances from ſhore they are ſcarcely perceptible: indeed the reaſon of this ſeems ſufficiently obvious, if we conſider, that conſtant currents are, in all probability, produced by conſtant winds, the wind driving before it, though with a ſlow and impereeptible motion, a large body of water, which being accumulated upon any coaſt that it meets with, muſt eſcape along the ſhore by the endeavours of its ſurface, to reduce itſelf to the ſame level with the reſt of the ocean. And it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that thoſe violent guſts of wind which we experienced near the ſhore, ſo very different from what we found in the latitude of ſixty degrees and upwards, may be owing to a ſimilar cauſe; for a weſterly wind almoſt perpetually prevails, in the ſouthern part of the Pacific Ocean: and this current of air being interrupted by thoſe immenſe hills called the Andes, and by the mountains on Terra del Fuego, which together bar up the whole country to the ſouthward as far as Cape Horn, a part of it only can force its way over the tops of thoſe prodigious precipices, whilſt the reſt muſt naturally follow the direction of the coaſt, and muſt range down the land to the ſouth-

ward, and ſweep with an impetuous and irregular blaſt round Cape Horn, and the ſouthermoſt part of Terra del Fuego. However, not to rely on theſe ſpeculations, we may eſtabliſh, as inconteſtible, theſe matters of fact, that both the rapidity of the currents, and the violence of the weſtern gales, are leſs ſenſible in the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, than nearer the ſhore of Terra del Fuego.

But though I am ſatisfied from both our own experience, and the relations of other navigators, of the importance of the precept I here inſiſt on, that of running into the latitude of 61 or 62 degrees, before any endeavours are made to ſtand to the weſtward; yet I would adviſe no ſhips hereafter to truſt ſo far to this management, as to neglect another moſt eſſential maxim, which is the making this paſſage in the height of ſummer, that is, in the months of December and January. Indeed, if the mere violence of the weſtern winds be conſidered, the time of our paſſage, which was about the equinox, was perhaps the moſt unfavourable of the whole year; but then it muſt be remembered, that independent of the winds, there are, in the depth of winter, many other inconveniencies to be apprehended, which are almoſt inſuperable. As I would therefore adviſe all ſhips to make their paſſage in December and January, if poſſible; ſo I would warn them never to attempt the doubling Cape Horn from the eaſtward, after the month of March.

As to the propereſt port for cruiſers to refreſh at on their arrival in the ſouth Seas, there is ſcarcely any choice; the iſland of Juan Fernandes being the only place that can be prudently recommended for this purpoſe. For though there are many ports on the weſtern ſide of Patagonia, between the ſtraits of Magellan and the Spaniſh ſettlements, where ſhips might ride in great ſafety, might recruit their wood and water, and might procure ſome few refreſhments; yet that coaſt is in itſelf ſo dangerous, from

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its numerous rocks and breakers, and from the violence of the weſtern winds, which blow conſtantly full upon it; that it is by no means adviſeable to fall in with that land, at leaſt till the roads, channels, and anchorage, in each part of it are accurately ſurveyed.

To this we may add, that as all our future expeditions to the South Seas muſt run a conſiderable riſque of proving abortive, whilſt in our paſſage thither we are under the neceſſity of touching at Braſil; the diſcovery of ſome place more to the ſouthward, where ſhips might refreſh and ſupply themſelves with the neceſſary ſea-ſtock for their voyage round Cape Horn; would be an expedient which would relieve us from this embaraſſment, and would ſurely be a matter worthy of the attention of the public. Nor does this ſeem difficult to be effected. For we have already the imperfect knowlege of two places, which might perhaps, on examination, prove extremely convenient for this purpoſe: one of them is Pepy's iſland, in the latitude of 47° ſouth, and laid down by Dr. Halley, about eighty leagues to the eaſtward of Cape Blanco, on the coaſt of Patagonia; the other is Falkland's iſles in the latitude of 51° ½ lying nearly ſouth of Pepy's iſland. The firſt of theſe was diſcovered by captain Cowley, in his voyage round the world in the year 1686; who repreſents it as a commodious place for ſhips to wood and water at, and ſays, it is provided with a very good and capacious harbour, where a thouſand ſail of ſhips might ride at anchor in great ſafety; that it abounds with fowls, and that as the ſhore is either rocks or ſands, it ſeems to promiſe great plenty of fiſh. The ſecond place, or Falkland's iſles, have been ſeen by many ſhips both French and Engliſh, being the land laid down by Frezier, in his chart of the extremity of South America, under the title of the new Iſlands. Woodes Rogers, who run along the north-eaſt coaſt of theſe iſles in the year 1708, tells

us, that they extended about two degrees in length, and appeared with gentle deſcents from hill to hill, and ſeemed to be good ground, interſperſed with woods, and not deſtitute of harbours. Either of theſe places, as they are iſlands at a conſiderable diſtance from the continent, may be ſuppoſed, from their latitude, to lie in a climate ſufficiently temperate. It is true, they are too little known to be at preſent recommended as the moſt eligible places of refreſhment for ſhips bound to the ſouthward: but if, on examination, one or both of theſe places ſhould appear proper for the purpoſe intended, it is ſcarcely to be conceived, of what prodigious import a convenient ſtation might prove, ſituated ſo far to the ſouthward, and ſo near Cape Horn.

And as all diſcoveries of this kind, though extremely honourable to thoſe who direct and promote them, may yet be carried on at an inconſiderable expence, ſince ſmall veſſels are much the propereſt to be employed in this ſervice; it were to be wiſhed, that the whole coaſt of Patagonia, Terra del Fuego, and Staten-land, were carefully ſurveyed, and the numerous channels, roads and harbours with which they abound, were accurately examined. The diſcovery of this coaſt hath formerly been thought of ſuch conſequence, by reaſon of its neighbourhood to the Araucos and other Chilian Indians, who are generally at war, or at leaſt on ill terms, with their Spaniſh neighbours, that ſir John Narborough was purpoſely fitted out in the reign of king Charles II. to ſurvey the ſtraits of Magellan, the neighbouring coaſt of Patagonia, and the Spaniſh ports on that frontier; with directions, if poſſible, to procure ſome intercourſe with the Chilian Indians, and to eſtabliſh a correſpondence with them.

It is true, ſir John Narborough did not ſucceed in opening this commerce, which in appearance promiſed ſo many advantages to this nation. However, his diſappointment was merely accidental, and his tranſ-

tranſactions upon that coaſt (beſide the many valuable improvements he furniſhed to geography and navigation) are rather an encouragement for future trials of this kind than any objection againſt them; and it appeared, by the precautions and fears of the Spaniards, that they were fully convinced of the practicability of the ſcheme he was ſent to execute, and extremely alarmed with the apprehenſion of its conſequences.

But to proceed on our voyage;——after the mortifying diſappointment of falling in with the coaſt of Terra del Fuego, when we eſteemed ourſelves ten degrees to the weſtward of it; we ſtood away to the ſouth-weſt till the 22d of April, when we were in upward of 60° of ſouth latitude, and by our account near 6° to the weſtward of Cape Noir; in this run we had a ſeries of as favourable weather as could be well expected in that part of the world, even in a better ſeaſon: ſo that this interval, ſetting the inquietude of our thoughts aſide, was by far the moſt eligible of any we enjoyed from Straits le Maire to the weſt coaſt of America. But on the 24th, in the evening, the wind began to blow freſh, and ſoon increaſed to a prodigious ſtorm; and the weather being extremely thick, about midnight we loſt ſight of the other four ſhips of the ſquadron, which, notwithſtanding the violence of the preceding ſtorms, had hitherto kept in company with us. Nor was this our ſole misfortune; for the next morning, endeavouring to hand the top-ſails, the clue-lines and bunt-lines broke, and the ſheets being half-flown, every ſeam in the top-ſails was ſoon ſplit from top to bottom, and the main top-ſail ſhook ſo ſtrongly in the wind, that it carried away the top lanthorn, and endangered the head of the maſt; however, at length ſome of the moſt daring of our men ventured upon the yard, and cut the ſail away cloſe to the reefs, though with the utmoſt hazard of their lives; whilſt, at the ſame time, the foretop-ſail beat about the yard

with ſo much fury, that it was ſoon blown to pieces: nor was our attention to our top-ſails our ſole employment, for the main-ſail blew looſe, which obliged us to lower down the yard to ſecure the ſail, and the fore yard being likewiſe lowered, we lay to under a mizen. In this ſtorm, beſide the loſs of our top-ſails, we had much of our rigging broke, and loſt a main ſtudding-ſail-boom out of the chains.

On the 25th, about noon, the weather became more moderate, which enabled us to ſway up our yards, and to repair, in the beſt manner we could, our ſhattered rigging; but ſtill we had no ſight of the reſt of our ſquadron, nor indeed were we joined by any of them again, till after our arrival at Juan Fernandes: nor did any two of them, as we have ſince learned, continue in company together. This total and almoſt inſtantaneous ſeparation was the more wonderful, as we had hitherto kept together for ſeven weeks, through all the reiterated tempeſts of this turbulent climate. It muſt indeed be owned, that we had hence room to expect, that we might make our paſſage in a ſhorter time than if we had continued together, becauſe we could now make the beſt of our way without being retarded by the misfortunes of the other ſhips; but then we had the melancholy reflection, that we ourſelves were hereby deprived of the aſſiſtance of others, and our ſafety would depend upon our ſingle ſhip; ſo that if a plank ſtarted, or any other accident of the ſame nature ſhould take place, we muſt all irrecoverably periſh: or ſhould we be driven on ſhore, we had the uncomfortable proſpect of ending our days on ſome deſolate coaſt, without any reaſonable hope of ever getting off again: whereas, with another ſhip in company, all theſe calamities are much leſs formidable, ſince one ſhip at leaſt might eſcape, and be capable of preſerving or relieving the crew of the other.

The remaining part of this month of April we had generally hard gales, although we had been every day,

day, ſince the 22d, edging to the northward; however, on the laſt day of the month, we flattered ourſelves with the expectation of ſoon terminating all our ſufferings; for we that day found ourſelves in the latitude of 52° 13′, which being to the northward of the ſtraits of Magellan, we were aſſured that we had compleated our paſſage, and had arrived in the confines of the ſouthern ocean; and this ocean being denominated Pacific, from the equability of the ſeaſons which are ſaid to prevail there, and the facility and ſecurity with which navigation is there carried on, we hoped to experience ſome kind of compenſation for the complicated miſeries which had ſo conſtantly attended us for the laſt eight weeks. But here we were again diſappointed; for in the ſucceeding month of May, our ſufferings roſe to a much higher pitch than they had ever yet done, whether we conſider the violence of the ſtorms, the ſhattering of our ſails and rigging, or the diminiſhing and weakening of our crew by deaths and ſickneſs, and the probable proſpect of our total deſtruction.

Soon after our paſſing Straits le Maire, the ſcurvy began to make its appearance amongſt us; and our long continuance at ſea, the fatigue we underwent, and the various diſappointments we met with, had occaſioned its ſpreading to ſuch a degree, that at the latter end of April there were but few on board who were not, in ſome degree, afflicted with it; and in that month no leſs than forty-three died of it on board the Centurion. In the month of May we loſt near double that number; and as we did not get to land till the middle of June, the mortality went on increaſing, and the diſeaſe extended itſelf ſo prodigiouſly, that, after the loſs of above two hundred men, we could not at laſt muſter more than ſix fore-maſt men in a watch capable of duty.

This diſeaſe, ſo frequently attending long voyages, and ſo particularly deſtructive to us, is ſurely the moſt ſingular and unaccountable of any that affects

the human body: its ſymptoms are inconſtant and innumerable, and it is not eaſy to compleat the long roll of its various concomitants. It often produced putrid fevers, pleuriſies, the jaundice, and violent rheumatic pains; and ſometimes it occaſioned an obſtinate coſtiveneſs, which was generally attended with a difficulty of breathing, and this was eſteemed the moſt deadly of all the ſcorbutic ſymptoms: at other times the whole body, but more eſpecially the legs, were ſubject to ulcers of the worſt kind, attended with rotten bones, and ſuch a luxuriancy of fungous fleſh, as yielded to no remedy. But a moſt extraordinary circumſtance, and what would be ſcarcely credible upon any ſingle evidence, is, that the ſcars of wounds which had been for many years healed, were forced open again by this virulent diſtemper: of this, there was a remarkable inſtance in one of the invalids on board the Centurion, who had been wounded above fifty years before at the battle of the Boyne; for though he was cured ſoon after, and had continued well for a great number of years paſt, yet on his being attacked by the ſcurvy, his wounds, in the progreſs of his diſeaſe, broke out afreſh, and appeared as if they had never been healed. Nay, what is ſtill more aſtoniſhing, the callus of a broken bone, which had been compleatly formed for a long time, was found to be hereby diſſolved, and the fracture ſeemed as if had never been conſolidated. Indeed, the effects of this diſeaſe were, in almoſt every inſtance, wonderful; for many of our people, though confined to their hammocks, appeared to have no inconſiderable ſhare of health, for they eat and drank heartily; were chearful, and talked with much ſeeming vigour, and with a ſtrong tone of voice; and yet, on their being the leaſt moved, though it was only from one part of the ſhip to the other, and that too in their hammocks, they have immediately expired; and others, who have confided in their ſeeming ſtrength, and have reſolved to get

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out of their hammocks, have died before they could well reach the deck: nor was it an uncommon thing for thoſe who were able to walk the deck, and to do ſome kind of duty, to drop down dead in an inſtant, on any endeavours to act with their utmoſt effort.

We entertained hopes, that when we ſhould have once ſecured our paſſage round the Cape, we ſhould put a period to this, and all the other evils which had ſo conſtantly purſued us. But it was our misfortune to find, that the Pacific ocean was to us leſs hoſpitable than the turbulent neighbourhood of Terra del Fuego and Cape Horn. For being arrived, on the 8th of May, off the iſland of Socro, which was the firſt rendezvous appointed for the ſquadron, and where we hoped to have met with ſome of our companions, we cruiſed for them in that ſtation ſeveral days. But here we were not only diſappointed in our expectations of being joined by our friends, and were thereby induced to favour the gloomy ſuggeſtions of their having all periſhed; but we were likewiſe perpetually alarmed with the fears of being driven on ſhore upon this coaſt, which appeared too craggy and irregular to give us the leaſt proſpect, that in ſuch a caſe any of us could poſſibly eſcape immediate deſtruction. In ſome places indeed we diſcerned ſeveral deep bays running into the land, but the entrance into them were generally blocked up by numbers of little iſlands; and had we been driven aſhore by the weſtern winds which blew almoſt conſtantly here, we did not expect to have avoided the loſs of our ſhip and of our lives.

This continued peril, which laſted for above a fortnight, was greatly aggravated by the difficulties we found in working the ſhip; as the ſcurvy had by this time deſtroyed ſo great a part of our hands, and had, in ſome degree, affected almoſt the whole crew. Indeed, during the greateſt part of the time we were upon this coaſt, the wind blew ſo hard, that in another ſituation, where we had ſufficient ſea-room, we

ſhould

ſhould certainly have lain-to; but in the preſent exigency we were neceſſitated to carry both our courſes and top-ſails in order to keep clear of this lee-ſhore. In one of theſe ſqualls, which was attended by ſeveral violent claps of thunder, a ſudden flaſh of fire darted along our decks, which, dividing, exploded with a report like that of ſeveral piſtols, and wounded many of our men and officers as it paſſed, marking them in different parts of the body: this flame was attended with a ſtrong ſulphureous ſtench, and was doubtleſs of the ſame nature with the larger and more violent blaſts of lightning which then filled the air.

It were endleſs to recite minutely the various diſaſters, fatigues, and terrors, which we encountered on this coaſt; all theſe went on increaſing till the 22d of May, at which time, the fury of all the ſtorms which we had hitherto encountered, ſeemed to be combined, and to have conſpired our deſtruction. In this hurricane almoſt all our ſails were ſplit, and great part of our ſtanding rigging broken; and, about eight in the evening, a mountainous overgrown-ſea took us upon our ſtarboard-quarter, and gave us ſo prodigious a ſhock, that ſeveral of our ſhrouds broke with the jerk, by which our maſts were greatly endangered; our ballaſt and ſtores too were ſo ſtrangely ſhifted, that the ſhip heeled afterwards two ſtreaks to port. Indeed it was a moſt tremendous blow, and we were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation from the apprehenſion of inſtantly foundering; and though the wind abated in a few hours, yet, as we had no more ſails left in a condition to bend to our yards, the ſhip laboured very much in a hollow ſea, rolling gunwale to, for want of ſail to ſteady her: ſo that we expected our maſts, which were now very ſlenderly ſupported, to come by the board every moment. This was the laſt effort of that ſtormy climate; for in a day or two after we got clear of the land, and found the weather more moderate than we had yet experienced

enced ſince our paſſing Straits Le Maire. And now having cruiſed in vain for more than a fortnight in queſt of the other ſhips of the ſquadron, it was reſolved to take the advantage of the preſent favourable ſeaſon and the offing we had made from this terrible coaſt, and to make the beſt of our way for the iſland of Juan Fernandes. For though our next rendezvous was appointed off the harbour of Baldivia, yet we had the greateſt reaſon to ſuſpect, that all but ourſelves had periſhed. Beſides, we were by this time reduced to ſo low a condition, that inſtead of attempting to attack the places of the enemy, our utmoſt hopes could only ſuggeſt to us the poſſibility of ſaving the ſhip, and ſome part of the remaining enfeebled crew.

To ſave time, which was now extremely precious, and likewiſe to avoid being engaged with a lee-ſhore, we reſolved, if poſſible, to hit the iſland upon a meridian. And, on the 28th of May, being nearly in the parallel upon which it is laid down, we had great expectations of ſeeing it: but not finding it in the poſition in which the charts had taught us to expect it, we began to fear that we had gone too far to the weſtward; and therefore, though the commodore himſelf was ſtrongly perſuaded, that he ſaw it on the morning of the 28th, yet his officers believing it to be only a cloud, to which opinion the hazineſs of the weather gave ſome kind of countenance, it was, on a conſultation, reſolved to ſtand to the eaſtward, in the parallel of the iſland: as it was certain, that by this courſe we ſhould either fall in with the iſland, if we were already to the weſtward of it; or ſhould at leaſt make the main land of Chili, from whence we might take a new departure, and aſſure ourſelves, by running to the weſtward afterward, of not miſſing the iſland a ſecond time.

On the 30th of May we had a view of the continent of Chili, diſtant about twelve or thirteen leagues; the land made exceeding high and uneven, and appeared

peared quite white; what we ſaw being doubtleſs a part of the Cordilleras, which are always covered with ſnow. Though by this view of the land we aſcertained our poſition, yet it gave us great uneaſineſs to find that we had ſo needleſsly altered our courſe, when we were, in all probability, juſt upon the point of making the iſland: for the mortality amongſt us was now increaſed to a moſt dreadful degree, and thoſe who remained alive were utterly diſpirited by this new diſappointment. In this deſponding condition, with a crazy ſhip, a great ſcarcity of freſh water, and a crew ſo univerſally diſeaſed, that there were not above ten fore-maſt men in a watch capable of doing duty, and even ſome of theſe lame, and unable to go aloft; under theſe diſheartning circumſtances, we ſtood to the weſtward; and, on the 9th of June, at day-break, we at laſt diſcovered the long-wiſhed for iſland of Juan Fernandes.

Though, on the firſt view, this iſland appeared to be very mountainous, extremely ragged and irregular; yet as it was land, and the land we ſought for, it was to us a moſt agreeable ſight. Becauſe at this place only we could hope to put a period to thoſe terrible calamities we had ſo long ſtruggled with, which had already ſwept away above half our crew, and which, had we continued a few days longer at ſea, would inevitably have completed our deſtruction. For we were by this time reduced to ſo helpleſs a condition, that, out of two hundred and odd men which remained alive, we could not, taking all our watches together, muſter hands enough to work the ſhip on an emergency, though we included the officers, their ſervants, and the boys.

The wind being northerly when we firſt made the iſland, we kept plying all that day, and the next night, in order to get in with the land; and wearing the ſhip in the middle watch, we had a melancholy inſtance of the almoſt incredible debility of our people; for the lieutenant could muſter no more than

two

two quarter-maſters, and ſix fore-maſt men capable of working; ſo that without the aſſiſtance of the officers, ſervants, and the boys, it might have proved impoſſible for us to have reached the iſland, after we had got ſight of it; and even with this aſſiſtance they were two hours in trimming the ſails. To ſo wretched a condition was a ſixty gun ſhip reduced, which had paſſed Straits Le Maire but three months before, with between four and five hundred men, almoſt all of them in health and vigour.

However, on the 10th in the afternoon, we got under the lee of the iſland, and kept ranging about it, at about two miles diſtance, in order to look out for the proper anchorage, which was deſcribed to be in a bay on the north ſide. Being now nearer in with the ſhore, we could diſcover that the broken craggy precipices, which had appeared ſo unpromiſing at a diſtance, were far from barren, being in moſt places covered with woods; and that between them there were every where interſperſed the fineſt vallies, clothed with a moſt beautiful verdure, and watered with numerous ſtreams and caſcades, no valley, of any extent, being unprovided of its proper rill. The water too, as we afterwards found, was not inferior to any we had ever taſted, and was conſtantly clear. The aſpect of this country, thus diverſified, would, at all times, have been extremely delightful; but in our diſtreſſed ſituation, languiſhing as we were for the land and its vegetable productions, (an inclination conſtantly attending every ſtage of the ſea ſcurvy) it is ſcarcely credible with what eagerneſs and tranſport we viewed the ſhore, and with how much impatience we longed for the greens and other refreſhments which were then in ſight, and particularly the water: for of this we had been confined to a very ſparing allowance a conſiderable time, and had then but five ton remaining on board. Thoſe only who have endured a long ſeries of thirſt, and who can readily recal the deſire and agitation which the ideas alone of

ſprings

ſprings and brooks have at that time raiſed in them, can judge of the emotion with which we eyed a large caſcade of the moſt tranſparent water, which poured itſelf from a rock near a hundred feet high into the ſea, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhip. Even thoſe amongſt the diſeaſed, who were not in the very laſt ſtages of the diſtemper, though they had been long confined to their hammocks, exerted the ſmall remains of ſtrength that were left them, and crawled up to the deck to feaſt themſelves with this reviving proſpect. But at laſt the night cloſed upon us, before we had ſatisfied ourſelves which was the proper bay to anchor in; and therefore we reſolved to keep in ſoundings all night, and to ſend our boat next morning to diſcover the road: however, the current ſhifted in the night, and ſet us ſo near the land, that we were obliged to let go the beſt bower in fifty-ſix fathom, not half a mile from the ſhore. At four in the morning, the cutter was diſpatched with our third lieutenant to find out the bay we were in ſearch of, who returned again at noon with the boat laden with ſeals and graſs; for though the iſland abounded with better vegetables, yet the boat's-crew, in their ſhort ſtay, had not met with them; and they well knew that even graſs would prove a dainty, as indeed it was all ſoon and eagerly devoured. The ſeals too were conſidered as freſh proviſions; but as yet were not much admired, on account of the prodigious quantity of excellent fiſh, which the people on board had taken, during the abſence of the boat.

The cutter, in this expedition, had diſcovered the bay where we intended to anchor, which we found was to the weſtward of our preſent ſtation; and the next morning, the weather proving favourable, we endeavoured to weigh, in order to proceed thither: but though, on this occaſion, we muſtered all the ſtrength we could, obliging even the ſick, who were ſcarce able to keep on their legs, to aſſiſt us; yet the capſtan was ſo weakly manned, that it was near four hours

hours before we hove the cable right up and down: after which, with our utmoſt efforts, and with many ſurges and ſome purchaſes we made uſe of to increaſe our power, we found ourſelves incapable of ſtarting the anchor from the ground. However, at noon, as a freſh gale blew toward the bay, we were induced to ſet the ſails, which fortunately tripped the anchor; and then we ſteered along the ſhore, till we came abreaſt of the point that forms the eaſtern part of the bay. On the opening of the bay, the wind that had befriended us thus far, ſhifted and blew from thence in ſqualls; but by means of the head-way we had got, we looſed cloſe in, till the anchor brought us up in fifty-ſix fathom. Soon after we had thus got to our new birth, we diſcovered a ſail, which we made no doubt was one of our ſquadron; and on its nearer approach, we found it to be the Tryal ſloop. We immediately ſent ſome of our hands aboard her, by whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe was brought to an anchor between us and the land. We ſoon found that the ſloop had not been exempted from the ſame calamities which we had ſo ſeverely felt; for her commander captain Saunders, waiting on the commdoore, informed him, that out of his ſmall complement, he had buried thirty-four of his men; and thoſe that remained were ſo univerſally afflicted with the ſcurvy, that only himſelf, his lieutenant, and three of his men were able to ſtand by the ſails. The Tryal came to an anchor within us, on the 12th, about noon, and we carried our hawſers on board her, in order to moor ourſelves nearer in ſhore; but the wind coming off the land in violent guſts, prevented our mooring in the birth we intended. Indeed our principal attention was employed on buſineſs rather of more importance: for we were now extremely occupied in ſending on ſhore materials to raiſe tents for the reception of the ſick, who died apace on board, and doubtleſs the diſtemper was conſiderably augmented, by the ſtench and filthineſs in which they lay; for the

the number of the diſeaſed was ſo great, and ſo few could be ſpared from the neceſſary duty of the ſails to look after them, that it was impoſſible to avoid a relaxation in the article of cleanlineſs, which rendered the ſhip extremely loathſome between decks. Notwithſtanding our deſire of freeing the ſick from their hateful ſituation, and their own extreme impatience to get on ſhore, we had not hands enough to prepare the tents for their reception before the 16th; but on that and the two following days we ſent them all on ſhore, amounting to a hundred and ſixty-ſeven perſons, beſides twelve or fourteen who died in the boats, on their being expoſed to the freſh air. The greateſt part of our ſick were ſo infirm, that we were obliged to carry them out of the ſhip in their hammocks, and to convey them afterward in the ſame manner from the water-ſide to their tents, over a ſtony beach. This was a work of conſiderable fatigue to the few who were healthy, and therefore the commodore, according to his accuſtomed humanity, not only aſſiſted herein with his own labour, but obliged his officers, without diſtinction, to give their helping hands. The extreme weakneſs of our ſick may in ſome meaſure be collected from the numbers who died after they had got on ſhore; for it had generally been found, that the land, and the refreſhments it produces, very ſoon recovered moſt ſtages of the ſea-ſcurvy; and we flattered ourſelves, that thoſe who had not periſhed on this firſt expoſure to the open air, but had lived to be placed in their tents, would have been ſpeedily reſtored to their health and vigour: yet, to our great mortification, it was near twenty days after their landing, before the mortality was tolerably ceaſed; and for the firſt ten or twelve days, we buried rarely leſs than ſix each day, and many of thoſe, who ſurvived, recovered by very ſlow and inſenſible degrees. Indeed thoſe who were well enough at their firſt getting on ſhore, to creep out of their tents, and crawl about, were ſoon relieved, and recovered their health

and ſtrength in a very ſhort time; but in the reſt, the diſeaſed ſeemed to have acquired a degree of inveteracy which was altogether without example.

We ſhall now proceed to give a diſtinct account of this iſland, its ſituation, productions, and all its conveniencies; particulars we were well enabled to be minutely inſtructed in, during our three months ſtay there; and as it is the only commodious place in thoſe ſeas, where Britiſh cruiſers can refreſh after their paſſage round Cape Horn, and where they may remain for ſome time without alarming the Spaniſh coaſt, Mr. Anſon was particularly induſtrious in directing the roads and coaſts to be ſurveyed, and other obſervations to be made, knowing, from his own experience, of how great conſequence theſe materials might prove to any Britiſh veſſels hereafter employed in thoſe ſeas.

The iſland of Juan Fernandes lies in the latitude of 33° : 40′ ſouth, and is a hundred and ten leagues diſtant from the continent of Chili. It is ſaid to have received its name from a Spaniard, who formerly procured a grant of it, and reſided there ſome time with a view of ſettling on it, but afterward abandoned it. The iſland is of an irregular figure; its greateſt extent is between four and five leagues, and its greateſt breadth ſomewhat ſhort of two leagues. The only ſafe anchoring at this iſland is on the north ſide, where are three bays; the middlemoſt, known by the name of Cumberland Bay, is the wideſt and deepeſt, and in all reſpects much the beſt; for the other two, denominated the eaſt and weſt bays, are ſcarcely more than good landing places, where boats may conveniently put their caſks on ſhore.

As Cumberland Bay is by far the moſt commodious road in the iſland; ſo it is adviſeable for all ſhips to anchor on the weſtern ſide of this bay, within little more than two cables length of the beach. Here they may ride in forty fathom water, and be, in a great meaſure, ſheltered from a large heavy ſea, which comes rolling in whenever an eaſtern or a weſtern

wind blows. It is however expedient, in this caſe, to cackle or arm the cables with an iron chain, or good rounding, for five or ſix fathom from the anchor, to ſecure them from being rubbed by the foulneſs of the ground.

A northerly wind, to which alone this bay is expoſed, very rarely blew during our ſtay here; and as it was then winter, it may be ſuppoſed, in other ſeaſons, to be leſs frequent. Indeed, in thoſe few inſtances, when it was in that quarter, it did not blow with any great force: but this perhaps might be owing to the high-lands on the ſouthward of the bay, which checked its current, and thereby abated its violence; for we had reaſon to ſuppoſe, that a few leagues off, it blew with conſiderable ſtrength, ſince it ſometimes drove before it a prodigious ſea, in which we rode fore-caſtle in. But though the northern winds are never to be apprehended, yet the ſouthern winds, which generally prevail here, frequently blow off the land in violent guſts and ſqualls, which however rarely laſt longer than two or three minutes.

The northern part of this iſland is compoſed of high craggy hills, many of them inacceſſible, though generally covered with trees. The ſoil of this part is looſe and ſhallow, ſo that very large trees on the hills ſoon periſh for want of root, and are then eaſily overturned; which occaſioned the unfortunate death of one of our ſailors, who being upon the hills in ſearch of goats, caught hold of a tree upon a declivity to aſſiſt him in his aſcent, and this giving way, he immediately rolled down the hill, and though in his fall he faſtened on another tree of conſiderable bulk, yet that alſo giving way, he fell amongſt the rocks, and was daſhed to pieces. Mr. Brett likewiſe met with an accident only by reſting his back againſt a tree, near as large about as himſelf, which ſtood on a ſlope; for the tree giving way, he fell to a conſiderable diſtance, though without receiving any injury. Our priſoners (whom, as will be related in the ſequel, we afterward

afterward brought in here) remarked, that the appearance of the hills in ſome part of the iſland reſembled that of the mountains in Chili, where the gold is found: ſo that it is not impoſſible but mines might be diſcovered here. We obſerved, in ſome places, ſeveral hills of a peculiar ſort of red earth, exceeding vermillion in colour, which, perhaps, on examination, might prove uſeful for many purpoſes. The ſouthern, or rather the ſouth weſt part of the iſland, is widely different from the reſt, being dry, ſtony, deſtitute of trees, and very flat and low, compared with the hills on the northern part. This part of the iſland is never frequented by ſhips, being ſurrounded by a ſteep ſhore, and having little or no freſh water; and beſide, it is expoſed to the ſoutherly wind, which generally blows here the whole year round, and in the winter ſolſtice very hard.

The trees of which the woods on the northern ſide of the iſland are compoſed, are moſt of them aromatics, and of many different ſorts: there are none of them of a ſize to yield any conſiderable timber, except the myrtle-trees, which are the largeſt on the iſland, and ſupplied us with all the timber we made uſe of; but even theſe would not work to a greater length than forty feet. The top of the myrtle-tree is circular, and appears as uniform and regular, as if it had been clipped by art; it bears on its bark an excreſcence like moſs, which in taſte and ſmell reſembles garlic, and was uſed by our people inſtead of it. We found here too the pimento-tree and likewiſe the cabbage-tree, though in no great plenty. And, beſide a great number of plants of various kinds, which we were not botaniſts enough either to deſcribe, or attend to; we found here almoſt all the vegetables, which are uſually eſteemed to be particularly adapted to the cure of thoſe ſcorbutic diſorders, which are contracted by ſalt diet and long voyages. Theſe vegetables, with the fiſh and fleſh we got here,

were not only extremely grateful to our palates, after the long courſe of ſalt diet which we had been confined to, but were likewiſe of the moſt ſalutary conſequence to our ſick, and of no mean ſervice to thoſe who were well.

To the vegetables I have already mentioned, of which we made perpetual uſe, I muſt add, that we found many acres of ground covered with oats and clover.

The excellence of the climate and the looſeneſs of the ſoil render this place extremely proper for all kinds of vegetation; for if the ground be any where accidentally turned up, it is immediately overgrown with turnips and Sicilian radiſhes; Mr. Anſon therefore having with him garden-ſeeds of all kinds, and ſtones of different ſorts of fruits, he, for the better accommodation of his countrymen who ſhould hereafter touch here, ſowed both lettuces, carrots, and other garden plants, and ſet in the woods a great variety of plumb, apricot, and peach ſtones: and theſe laſt he has been informed have ſince thriven to a very remarkable degree.

This may in general ſuffice as to the ſoil and vegetable productions of this place: but the face of the country, at leaſt of the north part of the iſland, is ſo extremely ſingular, that I cannot avoid giving it a particular conſideration. I have already taken notice of the wild, inhoſpitable air with which it firſt appeared to us, and the gradual improvement of this uncouth landſcape as we drew nearer, till we were at laſt captivated by the numerous beauties we diſcovered on the ſhore. And muſt now add, that we found, during the time of our reſidence there, that the inland parts of the iſland did no ways fall ſhort of the ſanguine prepoſſeſſions which we firſt entertained in their favour. For the woods, which covered moſt of the ſteepeſt hills, were free from all buſhes and underwood, and afforded an eaſy paſſage through every part of them; and the irregularities of the hills and preci-

pices, in the northern part of the iſland, neceſſarily traced out by their various combinations a great number of romantic vallies; moſt of which had a ſtream of the cleareſt water running through them, that tumbled in caſcades from rock to rock, as the bottom of the valley, by the courſe of the neighbouring hills, was at any time broken into a ſudden ſharp deſcent: ſome particular ſpots occurred in theſe vallies, where the ſhade and fragrance of the contiguous woods, the loftineſs of the overhanging rocks, and the tranſparency and frequent falls of the neighbouring ſtreams, preſented ſcenes of ſuch elegance and dignity, as would with difficulty be rivalled in any other part of the globe. It is in this place, perhaps, that the ſimple productions of unaſſiſted nature may be ſaid to excel all the fictitious deſcriptions of the moſt animated imagination. I ſhall finiſh this article with a ſhort account of that ſpot where the commodore pitched his tent, and which he made choice of for his own reſidence, though I deſpair of conveying an adequate idea of its beauty. The piece of ground which he choſe was a ſmall lawn, that lay on a little aſcent, at the diſtance of about half a mile from the ſea. In the front of his tent there was a large avenue cut through the woods to the ſea-ſide, which ſloping to the water with a gentle deſcent, opened a proſpect of the bay and the ſhips at anchor. This lawn was ſcreened behind by a tall wood of myrtle ſweeping round it, in the form of a theatre, the ſlope on which the wood ſtood, riſing with a much ſharper aſcent than the lawn itſelf; though not ſo much, but that the hills and precipices within land towered up conſiderably above the tops of the trees, and added to the grandeur of the view. There were, beſide, two ſtreams of cryſtal water, which ran on the right and left of the tent, within an hundred yards diſtance, and were ſhaded by the trees which ſkirting the lawn on either ſide, compleated the ſymmetry of the whole.

Former writers have related, that this iſland abounded with vaſt numbers of goats, and their accounts are not to be queſtioned, this place being the uſual haunt of the buccaneers and privateers, who formerly frequented thoſe ſeas. And there are two inſtances; one of a Muſquito Indian, and the other of Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, who were left there by their reſpective ſhips, and lived alone upon this iſland for ſome years, and conſequently were no ſtrangers to its produce. Selkirk, who was the laſt, after a ſtay of between four and five years, was taken off the place by the Duke and Ducheſs privateers of Briſtol, as may be ſeen at large in the journal of their voyage *. His manner of life, during his ſolitude, was in moſt particulars very remarkable; but there is one circumſtance he relates, which was ſtrangely verified by our own obſervation. He tells us, amongſt other things, that as he often caught more goats than he wanted, he ſometimes marked their ears and let them go. This was about thirty-two years before our arrival at the iſland. Now it happened, that the firſt goat that was killed by our people at their landing had its ears ſlit, whence we concluded, that he had doubtleſs been formerly under the power of Selkirk. This was indeed an animal of a moſt venerable aſpect, dignified with an exceeding majeſtic beard, and with many other ſymptoms of antiquity. During our ſtay on the iſland, we met with others marked in the ſame manner, all the males being diſtinguiſhed by an exuberance of beard, and every other characteriſtic of extreme age.

But the Spaniards being informed of the advantages which the buccaneers and privateers drew from the proviſions which goat-fleſh here furniſhed them with, have endeavoured to extirpate the breed, thereby to deprive their enemies of this relief. For this purpoſe, they put on ſhore great numbers of large dogs, who

* See p. 137 of this volume.

have

have increaſed apace, and have deſtroyed all the goats in the acceſſible part of the country; ſo that there now remain only a few amongſt the craggs and precipices, where the dogs cannot follow them. By this means we found it extremely difficult to kill them; and yet we were ſo deſirous of their fleſh, which we all agreed much reſembled veniſon, that we got knowledge, I believe, of all their herds, and it was conceived, by comparing their numbers together, that they ſcarcely exceeded two hundred upon the whole iſland. Theſe dogs, who are maſters of all the acceſſible parts of the iſland, are of various kinds, ſome of them very large, and are multiplied to a prodigious degree. They ſometimes came down to our habitations at night, and ſtole our proviſions; and once or twice they ſet upon ſingle perſons, but aſſiſtance being at hand, they were driven off without doing any miſchief. As at preſent it is rare for goats to fall in their way, we conceived that they lived principally upon young ſeals; and indeed ſome of our people had the curioſity to kill dogs ſometimes and dreſs them, and it ſeemed to be agreed that they had a fiſhy taſte.

Goats-fleſh being ſcarce, and our people growing tired of fiſh, they at laſt condeſcended to eat ſeals, which by degrees they came to reliſh, and called it lamb. The ſeal, numbers of which haunt this iſland, hath been ſo often mentioned by former writers, that it is unneceſſary to ſay any thing particular about them in this place. But there is another amphibious creature to be met with here, called a ſea-lion, that bears ſome reſemblance to a ſeal, though it is much larger. This too we eat under the denomination of beef; and as it is ſo extraordinary an animal, it well merits a particular deſcription. They are in ſize, when arrived at their full growth, from twelve to twenty feet in length, and from eight to fifteen in circumference: they are extremely fat, ſo that after cut through the ſkin, which is about an inch in thick-

neſs, there is at leaſt a foot of fat before you can come at either lean or bones; and we experienced more than once, that the fat of ſome of the largeſt afforded a butt of oil. They are likewiſe very full of blood, for if they are deeply wounded in a dozen places, there will inſtantly guſh out as many fountains of blood, ſpouting to a conſiderable diſtance: and to try what quantity of blood they contained, we ſhot one firſt, and then cut its throat, and meaſuring the blood that came from him, we found, that beſides what remained in the veſſels, which to be ſure was conſiderable, we got at leaſt two hogſheads. Their ſkins are covered with ſhort hair of a light dun colour, but their tails and their fins, which ſerve them for feet on ſhore, are almoſt black; and are divided at the ends like fingers; the web which joins them not reaching to the extremities, and each of theſe fingers is furniſhed with a nail. They have a diſtant reſemblance to an overgrown ſeal, though in ſome particulars there is a manifeſt difference between them, eſpecially in the males. Theſe have a large ſnout or trunk hanging down five or ſix inches below the end of the upper jaw; which the females have not, and this renders the countenance of the male and female eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed from each other; and beſides, the males are of a much larger ſize. Theſe animals divide their time equally between the land and ſea, continuing at ſea all the ſummer, and coming on ſhore at the ſetting in of the winter, where they reſide during the whole ſeaſon. In this interval they bring forth their young, and have generally two at a birth; which they ſuckle, being at firſt about the ſize of a full-grown ſeal. During the time theſe ſea-lions continue on ſhore, they feed on the graſs which grows near the banks of the freſh-water ſtreams; and, when not employed on feeding, ſleep in herds in the moſt miry places they can find out. As they ſeem to be of a lethargic diſpoſition, and are not eaſily awakened, each herd was obſerved to place ſome of

their

their males at a diſtance, in the nature of centinels, who never failed to alarm, whenever any one attempted to moleſt, or even to approach them: and they were very capable of alarming, even at a conſiderable diſtance, for the noiſe they make is very loud and of different kinds, ſometimes grunting like hogs, and at other times ſnorting like horſes in full vigour. They often, eſpecially the males, have furious battles with each other, principally about their females. We were one day extremely ſurprized by the ſight of two animals, which at firſt appeared different from all we had ever obſerved; but, on a nearer approach, they proved to be two ſea-lions, who had been goring each other with their teeth, and were covered over with blood: one of them, whom, from his ſize and ſuperiority, the ſeamen uſed to call the Baſhaw, generally lay ſurrounded with a ſeraglio of females, which no other male dared to approach; and he had not acquired that pre-eminence without many bloody conteſts, of which the marks ſtill remained in the numerous ſcars which were viſible in every part of his body. We killed many of them for food, particularly for their hearts and tongues, which we eſteemed exceeding good eating, and preferable even to thoſe of bullocks: in general there was no difficulty in killing them, for they were incapable either of eſcaping or reſiſting; as their motion is the moſt unwieldy that can be conceived, their blubber, all the time they are moving, being agitated in large waves under their ſkins. However, a ſailor one day being careleſsly employed in ſkinning a young ſea-lion, the female, from whence he had taken it, came upon him unperceived, and getting his head in her mouth, ſhe with her teeth ſcored his ſkull with notches in many places, and thereby wounded him ſo deſperately, that, though all poſſible care was taken of him, he died in a few days.

Theſe are the principal animals which we found upon the iſland: for we ſaw but few birds, and thoſe chiefly

chiefly hawks, blackbirds, owls, and humming birds. We ſaw not the Pardela, which burrows in the ground, and which former writers have mentioned to be found here; but as we often met with their holes, we ſuppoſed that the dogs had deſtroyed them, as they have almoſt done the cats: for theſe were very numerous in Selkirk's time, but we ſaw not above one or two during our whole ſtay. However, the rats ſtill keep their ground, and continue here in great numbers, and were very troubleſome to us, by infeſting our tents nightly.

But that which furniſhed us with the moſt delicious repaſts at this iſland, remains ſtill to be deſcribed. This was the fiſh, with which the whole bay was moſt plentifully ſtored, and with the greateſt variety: for we found here cod of a prodigious ſize; and by the report of ſome of our crew, who had been formerly employed in the Newfoundland fiſhery, not in leſs plenty than is to be met with on the banks of that iſland. We caught alſo cavallies, gropers, large breams, maids, ſilver fiſh, congers of a peculiar kind, and above all, a black fiſh which we moſt eſteemed, called by ſome a chimney ſweeper, in ſhape reſembling a carp. Beſide the fiſh we have already mentioned, we found here one delicacy in greater perfection, both as to ſize, flavour, and quantity, than is perhaps to be met with in any other part of the world: this was ſea cray fiſh; they generally weighed eight or nine pounds apiece, were of a moſt excellent taſte, and lay in ſuch abundance, near the water's edge, that the boat-hooks often ſtruck into them, in putting the boat to and from the ſhore.

Having thus given the reader ſome idea of the ſite and circumſtances of this place, which was to be our reſidence for three months; I ſhall now proceed to relate all that occurred to us in that interval.

The arrival of the Tryal ſloop at this iſlandſo, ſoon after we came there ourſelves, gave us great hopes of being

being ſpeedily joined by the reſt of the ſquadron; and we were for ſome days continually looking out, in expectation of their coming in ſight. But near a fortnight being elapſed, without any of them having appeared, we began to deſpair of ever meeting them again; as we knew that, had our ſhip continued ſo much longer at ſea, we ſhould every man of us have periſhed.

But on the 21ſt of June, ſome of our people from an eminence on ſhore, diſcerned a ſhip to leeward, with her courſes even with the horizon; and they, at the ſame time, particularly obſerved, that ſhe had no ſail abroad except her courſes and her main topſail. This circumſtance made them conclude that it was one of our ſquadron, which had probably ſuffered in her ſails and rigging as ſeverely as we had done: but they were prevented from forming more definite conjectures about her; for, after viewing her for a ſhort time, the weather grew thick and hazy, and they loſt ſight of her. On this report, and no ſhip appearing for ſome days after, we were all under the greateſt concern, ſuſpecting that her people might be in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of water, and ſo diminiſhed and weakened by ſickneſs, as not to be able to ply up to windward: ſo that we feared that, after having been in ſight of the iſland, her whole crew would notwithſtanding periſh at ſea. However, on the 26th, towards noon, we diſcerned a ſail in the north-eaſt quarter, which we conceived to be the very ſame ſhip that had been ſeen before, and our conjectures proved true: and about one o'clock ſhe approached ſo near, that we could diſtinguiſh her to be the Glouceſter. As we had no doubt of her being in great diſtreſs, the commodore immediately ordered his boat to her aſſiſtance, laden with freſh water, fiſh and vegetables, which was a very ſeaſonable relief to them; for our apprehenſions of their calamities appeared to be but too well grounded, as perhaps there never was a crew in a more

more diſtreſſed ſituation. They had already thrown over-board two thirds of their complement, and of thoſe which remained alive, ſcarcely any were capable of doing duty, except the officers and their ſervants. They had been a conſiderable time at the ſmall allowance of a pint of freſh water to each man for twenty-four hours, and yet they had ſo little left, that, had it not been for the ſupply we ſent them, they muſt ſoon have died of thirſt. The ſhip plied in within three miles of the bay; but, the winds and currents being contrary, ſhe could not reach the road. However, ſhe continued in the offing the next day; but as ſhe had no chance of coming to an anchor, unleſs the wind and currents ſhifted; the commodore repeated his aſſiſtance, ſending to her the Tryal's boat manned with the Centurion's people, and a farther ſupply of water and other refreſhments. Captain Mitchel, the captain of the Glouceſter, was under a neceſſity of detaining both this boat and that ſent the preceding day; for without the help of their crews, he had no longer ſtrength enough to navigate the ſhip. In this tantalizing ſituation the Glouceſter continued, for near a fortnight, without being able to fetch the road, though frequently attempting it, and at ſome times bidding very fair for it. On the 9th of July, we obſerved her ſtretching away to the eaſtward at a conſiderable diſtance, which we ſuppoſed was with a deſign to get to the ſouthward of the iſland; but as we ſoon loſt ſight of her, and ſhe did not appear for near a week, we were prodigiouſly concerned, knowing that ſhe muſt be again in extreme diſtreſs for want of water. After great impatience about her, we diſcovered her once more on the 16th, endeavouring to come round the eaſtern point of the iſland; but the wind, ſtill blowing directly from the bay, prevented her getting nearer than within four leagues of the land. On this, captain Mitchel made ſignals of diſtreſs, and our long-boat was ſent to him with a ſtore of water, and plenty of fiſh, and other refreſhments.

refreſhments. And the long boat being not to be ſpared, the cockſwain had poſitive orders from the commodore to return again immediately; but the weather proving ſtormy the next day, and the boat not appearing, we much feared ſhe was loſt, which would have proved an irretrievable misfortune to us all. However, the third day after, we were relieved from this anxiety by the joyful ſight of the long-boat's ſails upon the water; on which we ſent the cutter immediately to her aſſiſtance, who towed her along ſide in a few hours; when we found that the crew of our long-boat had taken in ſix of the Glouceſter's ſick men to bring them on ſhore, two of which had died in the boat. We now learnt that the Glouceſter was in a moſt dreadful condition, having ſcarcely a man in health on board, except thoſe they received from us: and, numbers of their ſick dying daily, it appeared that, had it not been for the laſt ſupply ſent by our long-boat, both the healthy and diſeaſed muſt have all periſhed together for want of water. Theſe calamities were the more terrifying, as they appeared to be without remedy: for the Glouceſter had already ſpent a month in her endeavours to fetch the bay, and ſhe was now no farther advanced than at the firſt moment ſhe made the iſland; on the contrary, the people on board her had worn out all their hopes of ever ſucceeding in it, by the many experiments they had made of its difficulty. Indeed, the ſame day her ſituation grew more deſperate than ever, for after ſhe had received our laſt ſupply of refreſhments, we again loſt ſight of her; ſo that we in general deſpaired of her ever coming to an anchor.

Thus was this unhappy veſſel bandied about within a few leagues of her intended harbour, whilſt the neighbourhood of that place and of thoſe circumſtances, which could alone put an end to the calamities they laboured under, ſerved only to aggravate their diſtreſs, by torturing them with a view of the relief it was not in their power to reach. But ſhe was at laſt delivered from this dreadful ſituation, at a time

time when we leaſt expected it; for after having loſt ſight of her for ſeveral days, we were pleaſingly ſurprized, on the morning of the 23d of July, to ſee her open the north eaſt point of the bay with a flowing ſail; when we immediately diſpatched what boats we had to her aſſiſtance, and in an hour's time from our firſt perceiving her, ſhe anchored ſafe within us in the bay. And now we were more particularly convinced of the importance of the aſſiſtance and refreſhments we ſo often ſent them, and how impoſſible it would have been for a man of them to have ſurvived, had we given leſs attention to their wants. For notwithſtanding the water, the greens, and freſh proviſions which we ſupplied them with, and the hands we ſent them to navigate the ſhip, by which the fatigue of their own people was diminiſhed, their ſick relieved, and the mortality abated; notwithſtanding this indulgent care of the commodore, they yet buried above three fourths of their crew, and a very ſmall proportion of the remainder were capable of aſſiſting in the duty of the ſhip. On their coming to anchor, our firſt endeavours were to aſſiſt them in mooring, and our next to ſend their ſick on ſhore: theſe were now reduced by deaths to leſs than fourſcore, of which we expected to loſe the greateſt part; but whether it was, that thoſe fartheſt advanced in the diſtemper were all dead, or that the greens and freſh proviſions we had ſent on board had prepared thoſe which remained for a more ſpeedy recovery, it happened, contrary to our expectation, that their ſick were in general relieved and reſtored to their ſtrength, in a much ſhorter time than our own had been when we firſt came to the iſland, and very few of them died on ſhore.

After thus giving an account of the principal events, relating to the arrival of the Glouceſter, in one continued narration, I ſhall only add, that we never were joined by any other of our ſhips, except our victualler, the Anna Pink, who came in about the middle of Auguſt.

Our

Our next employment, after ſending our ſick on ſhore from the Centurion, was cleaſing our ſhip and filling our water. The firſt of theſe meaſures was indiſpenſably neceſſary to our future health; as the numbers of ſick, and our deplorable ſituation at ſea, had rendered the decks moſt intolerably loathſome. The filling our water appeared not leſs eſſential to our ſecurity, as we had reaſon to apprehend that accidents might intervene, which would oblige us to quit the iſland at a very ſhort warning. For ſome appearances we had diſcovered on ſhore upon our firſt landing, gave us grounds to believe, that there were Spaniſh cruiſers in theſe ſeas, which had left the iſland but a ſhort time before our arrival, and might poſſibly return thither again. The circumſtances, which gave riſe to theſe reflexions were our finding on ſhore ſeveral pieces of earthen jars, which appeared to be freſh broken: we ſaw too, many heaps of aſhes, and near them fiſh-bones and pieces of fiſh, beſide whole fiſh, which were but juſt beginning to decay. Theſe were certain indications that there had been ſhips at this place but a ſhort time before we came there *; and as all Spaniſh merchant-men are inſtructed to avoid the iſland, on account of its being the common rendezvous of their enemies, we concluded thoſe who had touched here to be ſhips of force: and not knowing that Pizarro was returned to Buenos Ayres, and ignorant what ſtrength might have been fitted out at Callao, we were under ſome concern for our ſafety. For notwithſtanding the rank of our ſhip, which would only have aggravated our diſhonour, there was ſcarcely a privateer ſent to ſea, that was not then an over-match for us. However, our fears on this head proved imaginary.

Whilſt the cleaning our ſhip and the filling our water went on, we ſet up a large copper-oven on

* See theſe appearances accounted for, in Ulloa's voyage, at the latter end of our firſt volume.

ſhore

ſhore near the ſick tents, in which we baked bread every day for the ſhip's company; for being extremely deſirous of recovering our ſick as ſoon as poſſible, we conceived that new bread, added to their greens and freſh fiſh, might prove a powerful article in their relief. Indeed we had all imaginable reaſon to endeavour at the augmenting our preſent ſtrength, as every little accident, which to a full crew would be inſignificant, was extremely alarming in our preſent helpleſs ſituation: of this, we had a troubleſome inſtance the 30th of June; for at five in the morning, we were aſtoniſhed by a violent guſt of wind directly off ſhore, which inſtantly parted our ſmall bower cable about ten fathom from the ring of the anchor: the ſhip at once ſwung off to the beſt bower, which happily ſtood the violence of the jerk, and brought us up with two cables an end in eighty fathom. At this time we had not above a dozen ſeamen in the ſhip, and we were apprehenſive, if the ſquall continued, that we ſhould be driven to ſea in this wretched condition. However, we ſent the boat on ſhore, to bring off all who were capable of acting; and the wind, ſoon abating of its fury, gave us an opportunity of receiving the boat back again with reinforcement. With this additional ſtrength we immediately went to work, to heave in what remained of the cable, which we ſuſpected had received ſome damage from the foulneſs of the ground before it parted; and, agreeable to our conjecture, we found that ſeven fathom and an half of the outer end had been rubbed, and rendered unſerviceable. In the afternoon, we bent the cable to the ſpare anchor, and got it over the ſhip's ſide; and the next morning, July 1, being favoured with the wind in gentle breezes, we warped the ſhip in again, and let go the anchor in forty-one fathom; the eaſtermoſt point now bearing from us eaſt one half ſouth; the weſtermoſt north weſt by weſt; and the bay as before, ſouth ſouth weſt; a ſituation in which we remained ſecure for the future.

future. However, we were much concerned for the loſs of our anchor, and ſwept frequently for it, in hopes to have recovered it; but the buoy having ſunk at the very inſtant that the cable parted, we were never able to find it.

And now as we advanced in July, ſome of our men being tolerably recovered, the ſtrongeſt of them were put upon cutting down trees, and ſplitting them into billets; while others, who were too weak for this employ, undertook to carry the billets by one at a time to the water-ſide: this they performed, ſome of them with the help of crutches, and others ſupported by a ſingle ſtick. We next ſent the forge on ſhore, and employed our ſmiths, who were but juſt capable of working, in mending our chain-plates, and other broken and decayed iron work. We began too the repairs of our rigging; but as we had not junk enough to make ſpun-yarn, we deferred the general overhale, in hopes of the daily arrival of the Glouceſter, who we knew had a great quantity of junk on board. However, that we might diſpatch as faſt as poſſible in our refitting, we ſet up a large tent on the beach for the ſail-makers; and they were immediately employed in repairing our old ſails, and making us new ones. Theſe occupations, with our cleaning and watering the ſhip, the attendance on our ſick, and the frequent relief ſent to the Glouceſter, were the principal tranſactions of our infirm crew, till the arrival of the Glouceſter at an anchor in the bay. And then captain Mitchel waiting on the commodore, informed him, that he had been forced by the winds, in his laſt abſence, as far as the ſmall iſland called Maſa-Fuero, lying about twenty-two leagues to the weſtward of Juan Fernandes; and that he endeavoured to ſend his boat on ſhore there for water, of which he could obſerve ſeveral ſtreams, but the wind blew ſo ſtrong upon the ſhore, and occaſioned ſuch a ſurf, that it was impoſſible for the boat to land; though the attempt was not altogether uſe-

leſs, for his people returned with a boat load of fiſh. This iſland had been repreſented by former navigators as a barren rock; but captain Mitchel aſſured the commodore, that it was almoſt every where covered with trees and verdure, and was near four miles in length: and added, that it appeared to him far from impoſſible, but ſome ſmall bay might be found on it, which might afford ſufficient ſhelter for any ſhip deſirous of refreſhing there.

As four ſhips of our ſquadron were miſſing, this deſcription of the iſland of Maſa Fuero gave riſe to a conjecture, that ſome of them might poſſibly have fallen in with that iſland, and might have miſtaken it for the true place of our rendezvous. This ſuſpicion was the more plauſible, as we had no draught of either iſland that could be relied on: and therefore, Mr. Anſon determined to ſend the Tryal ſloop thither, as ſoon as ſhe could be fitted for the ſea, in order to examine at all its bays and creeks, that we might be ſatisfied whether any of our miſſing ſhips were there or not. It was the 4th of Auguſt before the Tryal was in readineſs to ſail, when, having weighed, it ſoon after fell calm, and the tide ſet her very near the eaſtern ſhore: captain Saunders hung out lights, and fired ſeveral guns to acquaint us with his danger; upon which all the boats were ſent to his relief, who towed the ſloop into the bay; where ſhe anchored until the next morning, and then weighing again, proceeded on her cruiſe with a fair breeze.

And now, after the Glouceſter's arrival, we were employed in earneſt in examining and repairing our rigging; but in the ſtripping our foremaſt, we were alarmed by diſcovering it was ſprung juſt above the partners of the upper deck. The ſpring was two inches in depth, and twelve in circumference; however, the carpenters on inſpecting it, gave it as their opinion, that fiſhing it with two leaves of an anchor-ſtock, would render it as ſecure as ever. But, beſide this defect in our maſt, we had other difficulties

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in refitting, from the want of cordage and canvas; for though we had taken to ſea much greater quantities of both, than had ever been done before, yet the continued bad weather we met with, had occaſioned ſuch a conſumption of theſe ſtores, that we were driven to great ſtraits: as after working up all our junk and old ſhrouds, to make twice-laid cordage, we were at laſt obliged to unlay a cable to work into running rigging. And with all the canvas, and remnants of old ſails that could be muſtered, we could only make up one complete ſuit.

Toward the middle of Auguſt our men being indifferently recovered, they were permitted to quit their ſick tents, and to build ſeparate huts for themſelves; as it was imagined, that by living apart, they would be much cleanlier, and conſequently likely to recover their ſtrength the ſooner: but at the ſame time particular orders were given, that on the firing of a gun from the ſhip, they ſhould inſtantly repair to the water-ſide. Their employment on ſhore was now either the procuring of refreſhments, the cutting of wood, or the making of oil from the blubber of the ſea-lions. This oil ſerved us for ſeveral purpoſes, as burning in lamps, or mixing with pitch to pay the ſhip's ſides, or, when worked up with wood-aſhes, to ſupply the uſe of tallow (of which we had none left) to give the ſhip boot-hoſe tops. Some of the men too were occupied in ſalting of cod; for there being two Newfoundland fiſhermen in the Centurion, the commodore ſet them about laying in a conſiderable quantity of ſalted cod for a ſea-ſtore, though very little of it was uſed, as it was afterward thought to be as productive of the ſcurvy, as any other kind of ſalt proviſions.

I have before-mentioned, that we had a copper-oven on ſhore to bake bread for the ſick; but it happened that the greateſt part of the flour, for the uſe of the ſquadron, was on board the Anna Pink: but the Tryal ſloop, at her arrival, informed us, that on

the 9th of May ſhe had fallen in with our victualler, not far diſtant from the continent of Chili; and had kept company with her for four days, when they were parted in a hard gale of wind. This afforded us ſome room to hope that ſhe was ſafe, and that ſhe might join us; but all June and July being paſt without any news of her, we then gave her over for loſt; and at the end of July the commodore ordered all the ſhips to a ſhort allowance of bread. Nor was it in our bread only, that we feared a deficiency; for ſince our arrival at this iſland, we diſcovered that our purſer had neglected to take on board large quantities of ſeveral kinds of proviſions, which the commodore had expreſsly ordered him to receive; ſo that the ſuppoſed loſs of our victualler, was on all accounts a mortifying conſideration. However, on Sunday, the 16th of Auguſt, about noon we eſpied a ſail in the northern quarter, and a gun was immediately fired from the Centurion, to call off the people from ſhore; who readily obeyed the ſummons, repairing to the beach, where the boats waited to carry them on board. And being now prepared for the reception of this ſhip in view, whether friend or enemy, we had various ſpeculations about her: at firſt, many imagined it to be the Tryal ſloop returned from her cruiſe; though as ſhe drew nearer, this opinion was confuted, by obſerving ſhe was a veſſel with three maſts. Then other conjectures were eagerly canvaſſed, ſome judging it to be the Severn, others the Pearl, and ſeveral affirming that it did not belong to our ſquadron: but about three in the afternoon our diſputes were ended, by an unanimous perſuaſion that it was our victualler the Anna Pink. This ſhip, though, like the Glouceſter, ſhe had fallen in to the northward of the iſland, had yet the good fortune to come to an anchor in the bay, at five in the afternoon. Her arrival gave us all the greateſt joy; for each ſhip's company was immediately reſtored to their full allowance of bread, and we were now freed

freed from the apprehenſions of our proviſions falling ſhort, before we could reach ſome amicable port; a calamity, which in theſe ſeas is of all others the moſt irretrievable. This was the laſt ſhip that joined us; and the dangers ſhe encountered, and the good fortune which ſhe afterwards met, are matters worthy of a ſeparate narration.

On the firſt appearance of the Anna Pink, it ſeemed wonderful to us how the crew of a veſſel, which came to this rendezvous two months after us, ſhould be capable of working their ſhip in the manner they did, with ſo little appearance of debility and diſtreſs: but this difficulty was ſoon ſolved when ſhe came to an anchor; for we then found that they had been in a harbour ſince the middle of May, which was near a month before we arrived at Juan Fernandes: ſo that their ſufferings (the riſque they had run of ſhipwreck only excepted) were greatly ſhort of what had been undergone by the reſt of the ſquadron. It ſeems, on the 16th of May, they fell in with the land, which was then but four leagues diſtant, in the latitude of 45° 15′ ſouth. On the firſt ſight of it they wore ſhip, and ſtood to the ſouthward, but their fore topſail ſplitting, and the wind being weſt ſouth-weſt, they drove toward the ſhore; and the captain at laſt, either unable to clear the land, or, as others ſay, reſolved to keep the ſea no longer, ſteered for the coaſt, with a view of diſcovering ſome ſhelter amongſt the many iſlands which then appeared in ſight. The Pink had the good fortune to come to anchor to the eaſtward of the iſland of Inchin; but as they did not run ſufficiently near to the eaſt ſhore of that iſland, and had not hands enough to veer away the cable briſkly, they were ſoon driven to the eaſtward, deepening their water from twenty-five fathom to thirty-five; and ſtill continuing to drive, they, the next day, the 17th of May, let go their ſheet-anchor. This, though it brought them

up for a ſhort time, yet, on the 18th, they drove again, and were now within a mile of the land, and expected to be forced on ſhore every moment, in a place where the coaſt was ſo very high and ſteep too, that there was not the leaſt proſpect of ſaving the ſhip or cargo: as there was no appearance of a landing-place, the whole crew conſiſting of ſixteen men and boys, gave themſelves over for loſt, apprehending, that if any of them, by ſome extraordinary chance ſhould get on ſhore, they would, in all probability, be maſſacred by the ſavages on the coaſt: for theſe, knowing no other Europeans but Spaniards, it might be expected they would treat all ſtrangers with the ſame cruelty, which they had ſo often and ſo ſignally exerted againſt their Spaniſh neighbours. Under theſe terrifying circumſtances, the Pink drove nearer and nearer to the rocks which formed the ſhore; but at laſt, when the crew expected each inſtant to ſtrike, they perceived a ſmall opening in the land, which raiſed their hopes; and immediately cutting away their two anchors, they ſteered for it, and found it to be a ſmall channel betwixt an iſland and the main, that led them into a moſt excellent harbour, which, for its ſecurity againſt all winds and ſwells, and the ſmoothneſs of its water, may perhaps compare with any in the known world.

Here ſhe continued for near two months, and here her people, who were many of them ill of the ſcurvy, were ſoon reſtored to perfect health by the freſh proviſions, of which they procured good ſtore, and the excellent water with which the adjacent ſhore abounded. As this place may prove of the utmoſt importance to future navigators, who may be forced upon this coaſt by the weſterly winds, which are almoſt perpetual in that part of the world, I ſhall, before I enter into any farther particulars of the adventures of the Pink, give the beſt account I could collect of this port, its ſituation, conveniencies, and pro-

productions. Its latitude, which is indeed a material point, is not well aſcertained, the Pink having no obſervation either the day before ſhe came here, or within a day of her leaving it: but it is ſuppoſed that it is not very diſtant from 45° 30′ ſouth, and the large extent of the bay before the harbour, renders this uncertainty of leſs moment. The iſland of Inchin lying before the bay, is thought to be one of the iſlands of Chonos, which are mentioned in the Spaniſh accounts, as ſpreading all along that coaſt, and are ſaid by them to be inhabited by a barbarous people, famous for their hatred of the Spaniards, and for their cruelties to ſuch of that nation as have fallen into their hands. There are ſeveral fine runs of excellent freſh water, which fall into the harbour, ſome of them ſo luckily ſituated, that the caſks may be filled in the long-boat with an hoſe. The principal refreſhments they met with in this port were greens, as wild celery, nettle-tops, &c. (which after ſo long a continuance at ſea, they devoured with great eagerneſs) ſhell fiſh and good ſtore of geeſe, ſhags, and penguins. The climate, though it was the depth of winter, was not remarkably rigorous; nor the trees, or the face of the country deſtitute of verdure; whence in the ſummer many other ſpecies of freſh proviſion, beſide theſe here enumerated, might doubtleſs be found there. With all theſe advantages, this place is ſo far removed from the Spaniſh frontier, and ſo little known to the Spaniards themſelves, that there is reaſon to ſuppoſe, that by proper precautions, a ſhip might continue here undiſcovered a long time. It is moreover a poſt of great defence,; for by poſſeſſing the iſland that cloſes up the harbour, and which is acceſſible in very few places, a ſmall force might ſecure this port againſt all the ſtrength the Spaniards could muſter in that part of the world. All theſe circumſtances ſeem to render this port worthy of a more accurate examination; and it is to be hoped,

that the important uſes which this rude account of it ſeems to ſuggeſt, may hereafter recommend it to the attention of thoſe who are more immediately entruſted with the conduct of our naval affairs.

As to the people belonging to the Pink, being only a few in number, they did not dare to detach any of their people on diſtant ſearches; ſo that their excurſions were generally confined to that tract of land which ſurrounded the port, and where they were never out of view of the ſhip. Though had they at firſt known how little foundation there was for their fears, yet the country in the neighbourhood was ſo grown up with wood, and traverſed with mountains, that it appeared impracticable to penetrate: whence no account of the inland parts could be expected from them. Indeed they were able to diſprove the relations given by Spaniſh writers, who have repreſented this coaſt as inhabited by a fierce and powerful people: for they were certain that no ſuch inhabitants were there to be found, at leaſt during the winter ſeaſon; ſince all the time they continued there, they ſaw no more than one Indian family, which came into the harbour in a Periagua, about a month after the arrival of the Pink, and conſiſted of an Indian near forty years old, his wife and two children, one three years of age, and the other ſtill at the breaſt. They ſeemed to have with them all their property, which was a dog and a cat, a fiſhing-net, a hatchet, a knife, a cradle, ſome bark of trees intended for the covering of a hut, a reel, ſome worſted, a flint and ſteel, and a few roots of a yellow hue and a very diſagreeable taſte, which ſerved them for bread. The maſter of the Pink, as ſoon as he perceived them, ſent his yaul, who brought them on board; and fearing leſt they might diſcover him, if they were permitted to go away, he took, as he conceived, proper precautions for ſecuring them, but without any mixture of ill uſage or violence: for

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in the day-time they were permitted to go where they pleaſed about the ſhip, but at night were locked up in the forecaſtle. As they were fed in the ſame manner with the reſt of the crew, and were often indulged with brandy, which they ſeemed greatly to reliſh, it did not at firſt appear that they were much diſſatisfied with their ſituation; eſpecially as the maſter took the Indian on ſhore when he went a ſhooting, (who always ſeemed extremely delighted when the maſter killed his game) and as all the crew treated them with great humanity: but it was ſoon perceived, that though the woman continued eaſy and chearful, yet the man grew penſive and reſtleſs at his confinement. He ſeemed to be a perſon of good natural parts, and though not capable of converſing with the Pink's people, otherwiſe than by ſigns, was yet very curious and inquiſitive; and ſhewed great dexterity in the manner of making himſelf underſtood. But the ſtrongeſt proof his ſagacity was the manner of his getting away; for, after being in cuſtody on board the Pink eight days, the ſcuttle of the fore-caſtle, where he and his family were locked up every night, happened to be unnailed, and the following night being extremely dark and ſtormy, he contrived to convey his wife and children through the unnailed ſcuttle, and then over the ſhip's ſide, into the yaul; and to prevent being purſued, he cut away the long-boat and his own periagua, which were towing a-ſtern, and immediately rowed a-ſhore. All this he conducted with ſo much diligence and ſecrecy, that he was not diſcovered till the noiſe of his oars in the water, after he had put off from the ſhip, gave notice of his eſcape; and then it was too late either to prevent or to purſue him, their boats being all a-drift. The Indian too, by this effort, beſide the recovery of his liberty, was in ſome ſort revenged on thoſe who had confined him, both by the perplexity they were involved in from the loſs of their boats, and by the

terror

terror he threw them in at his departure: for on the firſt alarm of the watch, who cried out, The Indians! the whole ſhip was in the utmoſt confuſion, believing themſelves to be boarded by a fleet of armed periaguas.

As it was ſuppoſed that he ſtill continued in the woods in the neighbourhood of the port, where it was feared he might ſuffer for want of proviſions, they eaſily prevailed upon the maſter to leave a quantity of ſuch food, as they thought would be moſt agreeable to him, in a particular part where they imagined he would be likely to find it: and there was reaſon to conjecture, that this piece of humanity was not altogether uſeleſs to him; for, on viſiting the place ſome time after, it was found that the proviſion was gone, and in a manner that made them conclude it had fallen into his hands.

But however, though many of them were ſatisfied that this Indian ſtill continued near them; yet others would needs conclude, that he was gone to the iſland of Chiloe, where they feared he would alarm the Spaniards, and would ſoon return with a force ſufficient to ſurprize the Pink. On this occaſion the maſter of the Pink was prevailed on to omit firing the evening gun; for it muſt be remembered, (and there is a particular reaſon hereafter for attending to this circumſtance) that the maſter, from an oſtentatious imitation of the practice of men of war, had hitherto fired a gun every evening at the ſetting of the watch. This, he pretended, was to awe the enemy, if there was any within hearing, and to convince them that the Pink was always on her guard; but it being now repreſented to him, that his great ſecurity was his concealment, and that the evening gun might poſſibly diſcover him, and ſerve to guide the enemy to him, he was prevailed on to omit it for the future: and his crew being now well refreſhed, and their wood and water ſufficiently repleniſhed, he, in a few days after the eſcape of the Indian, put to

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ſea, and had a fortunate paſſage to the rendezvous at the iſland of Juan Fernandes; where he arrived on the 16th of Auguſt, as hath been already mentioned.

The remaining ſhips of the ſquadron were the Severn, the Pearl, and the Wager ſtore-ſhip: the Severn and Pearl parted company with the ſquadron off Cape Noir; and, as we afterwards learnt, put back to the Braſils: ſo that of all the ſhips which came into the South Seas, the Wager, captain Cheap, was the only one that was miſſing. This ſhip had on board a few field-pieces mounted for land-ſervice, together with ſome coehorn mortars, and ſeveral kinds of artillery ſtores, and pioneers tools, intended for the operations on ſhore: therefore, as the enterprize on Baldivia had been reſolved on for the firſt undertaking of the ſquadron, captain Cheap was extremely ſollicitous that theſe materials, which were in his cuſtody, might be ready before Baldivia; that if the ſquadron ſhould poſſibly rendezvous there, (as he knew not the condition they were then reduced to) no delay nor diſappointment might be imputed to him.

But whilſt the Wager, with theſe views, was making the beſt of her way to her rendezvous off the iſland of Socoro, whence (as there was little probability of meeting any of the ſquadron there) ſhe propoſed to ſteer directly for Baldivia, ſhe made the land on the 14th of May, about the latitude of 47° ſouth; and the captain exerting himſelf upon this occaſion, in order to get clear of it, he had the misfortune to fall down the after-ladder, and diſlocated his ſhoulder, which rendered him incapable of acting. This accident, together with the crazy condition of the ſhip, which was little better than a wreck, prevented her from getting off to ſea, and entangled her more and more with the land; inſomuch that the next morning, at day break, ſhe ſtruck on a ſunken rock, and after bilged, and grounded between two ſmall iſlands, at about a muſket-ſhot from the ſhore.

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In this ſituation the ſhip continued entire a long time, ſo that all the crew had it in their power to get ſafe on ſhore; but a general confuſion taking place, numbers of them, inſtead of conſulting their ſafety, or reflecting on their calamitous condition, fell to pillaging the ſhip, arming themſelves with the firſt weapons that came to hand, and threatening to murder all who ſhould oppoſe them. This frenzy was greatly heightened by the liquors they found on board, with which they got ſo extremely drunk, that ſome of them falling down between decks, were drowned, as the water flowed into the wreck; being incapable of raiſing themſelves up and retreating from it. The captain therefore having done his utmoſt to get the whole crew on ſhore, was at laſt obliged to leave the mutineers behind him, and to follow his officers, and ſuch as he had been able to prevail on: but he did not fail to ſend back the boats, to perſuade thoſe who remained, to have ſome regard to their preſervation; though all his efforts were for ſome time without ſucceſs. However, the weather next day proving ſtormy, and there being great danger of the ſhip's parting, they began to be alarmed with the fears of periſhing, and were deſirous of getting to land: but it ſeems their madneſs had not yet left them, for the boat not appearing to fetch them off ſo ſoon as they expected, they at laſt pointed a four pounder, which was on the quarter-deck, againſt the hut where they knew the captain reſided on ſhore, and fired two ſhot, which paſſed but juſt over it.

From this ſpecimen of the behaviour of part of the crew, it will not be difficult to frame ſome conjecture of the diſorder and anarchy which took place when they at laſt got all on ſhore. For the men conceived, that by the loſs of the ſhip, the authority of the officers was at an end; and, they being now on a deſolate coaſt, where ſcarcely any other proviſions could be got, except what ſhould be ſaved out of the wreck,

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this was another unſurmountable ſource of diſcord; ſince the working upon the wreck, and the ſecuring the proviſions, ſo that they might be preſerved for future exigencies as much as poſſible, and the taking care that what was neceſſary for their preſent ſubſiſtence might be ſparingly and equally diſtributed, were matters not to be brought about but by diſcipline and ſubordination. This mutinous diſpoſition of the people, ſtimulated by the impulſes of immediate hunger, rendered every regulation made for this purpoſe ineffectual: ſo that there were continual concealments, frauds, and thefts, which animated each man againſt his fellow, and produced infinite feuds and conteſts, and rendered them utterly ungovernable.

Beſide theſe heart burnings occaſioned by petulance and hunger, there was another important point, which ſet the greateſt part of the people at variance with the captain. This was their differing with him in opinion, on the meaſures to be purſued in the preſent exigency: for the captain was determined, if poſſible, to fit up the boats in the beſt manner he could, and to proceed with them to the northward. Since having with him above an hundred men in health, and having gotten ſome fire-arms and ammunition from the wreck, he did not doubt but they could maſter any Spaniſh veſſel they could encounter with in thoſe ſeas: and he thought he ſhould not fail of meeting with one in the neighbourhood of Chiloe or Baldivia, in which, when he had taken her, he intended to proceed to the rendezvous at Juan Fernandes. He farther inſiſted, that ſhould they light on no prize by the way, yet the boats alone would eaſily carry them thither. But this was a ſcheme, that, however prudent, was no way reliſhed by the generality of his people; for, being quite jaded with the diſtreſſes and dangers they had already run through, they could not think of proſecuting an enterprize farther, which had hitherto proved ſo diſaſtrous.

aſtrous. The common reſolution therefore was, to lengthen the long-boat, and with that and the reſt of the boats to ſteer to the ſouthward; to paſs through the ſtraits of Magellan, and to range along the eaſt ſide of South America, till they ſhould arrive at Braſil, where they doubted not to be well received, and to procure a paſſage to Great Britain. This project was at firſt ſight infinitely more hazardous and tedious than what was propoſed by the captain; but as it had the air of returning home, and flattered them with the hopes of bringing them once more to their native country, that circumſtance alone rendered them inattentive to all its inconveniencies, and made them adhere to it with inſurmountable obſtinacy. So that the captain himſelf, though he never changed his opinion, was yet obliged to give way to the torrent, and in appearance to acquieſce in this reſolution, whilſt he endeavoured underhand to give it all the obſtruction he could; particularly in the lengthening of the long-boat: this he contrived ſhould be of ſuch a ſize, that though it might ſerve to carry them to Juan Fernandes, would yet, he hoped, appear incapable of ſo long a navigation, as that to the coaſt of Braſil.

But the captain, by his ſteady oppoſition at firſt to this favourite project, had much embittered the people againſt him; to which likewiſe the following unhappy accident greatly contributed. There was a midſhipman whoſe name was Cozens, who had appeared the foremoſt in all the refractory proceedings of the crew. He had involved himſelf in brawls with moſt of the officers who had adhered to the captain's authority, and had even treated the captain himſelf with great abuſe and inſolence. As his turbulence and brutality grew every day more and more intolerable, it was not in the leaſt doubted, but there were ſome violent meaſures in agitation, in which Cozens was engaged as the ringleader: for which reaſon the captain, and thoſe about him, conſtantly

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kept themſelves on their guard. One day the purſer, having, by the captain's order, ſtopped the allowance of a fellow who would not work, Cozens, though the man did not complain to him, intermeddled in the affair with great bitterneſs; and groſsly inſulted the purſer, who was then delivering out proviſions, juſt by the captain's tents, and was himſelf ſufficiently violent. The purſer, enraged by this ſcurrility, and perhaps piqued by former quarrels, cried out, A MUTINY, adding, THE DOG HAS PISTOLS; and then himſelf fired a piſtol at Cozens, which however miſt him: but the captain, on this outcry, and the report of the piſtol, ruſhed out of his tent; and, not doubting but it had been fired by Cozens as the commencement of a mutiny, he immediately ſhot him in the head without farther deliberation, and though he did not kill him on the ſpot, yet the wound proved mortal, and he died about fourteen days after.

However this incident, though ſufficiently diſpleaſing to the people, did yet, for a conſiderable time, awe them to their duty, and rendered them more ſubmiſſive to the captain's authority: but, at laſt, when towards the middle of October, the long-boat was nearly compleated, and they were preparing to put to ſea, the additional provocation he gave them, by covertly traverſing their project of proceeding through the ſtraits of Magellan, and their fears that he might at length engage a party ſufficient to overturn this favourite meaſure, made them reſolve to make uſe of the death of Cozens, as a reaſon for depriving him of his command, under pretence of carrying him a priſoner to England, to be tried for murder; and he was accordingly confined under a guard. But they never intended to carry him with them, as they too well knew what they had to apprehend on their return to England, if their commander ſhould be preſent to confront them: and therefore, when they were juſt ready to put to ſea, they ſet him at liberty, leaving him and the few who choſe to take their for-

tunes with him, no other embarkation but the yaul, to which the barge was afterwards added, by the people on board her being prevailed on to return back.

When the ſhip was wrecked, there were alive on board the Wager near an hundred and thirty perſons; of theſe above thirty died during their ſtay upon the place, and near eighty went off in the long-boat and the cutter to the ſouthward: ſo that there remained with the captain, after their departure, no more than nineteen perſons, which however were as many as the barge and the yaul, the only embarkations left them, could well carry off. It was the 13th of October, five months after the ſhipwreck, that the long-boat converted into a ſchooner, weighed, and ſtood to the ſouthward, giving the captain, who with lieutenant Hamilton of the land-forces, and the ſurgeon were then on the beach, three cheers at their departure: and on the 29th of January following, they arrived at Rio Grande, on the coaſt of Braſil: but having, by various accidents, left about twenty of their people on ſhore at the different places they touched at, and a greater number having periſhed by hunger during the courſe of their navigation, there were no more than thirty of them remaining, when they arrived in that port. Indeed, the undertaking of itſelf was a moſt extraordinary one; for (not to mention the length of the run) the veſſel was ſcarcely able to contain the number that firſt put to ſea in her; and their ſtock of proviſion, being only what they had ſaved out of the ſhip, was extremely ſlender: they had this additional misfortune beſide, that the cutter, the only boat they had with them, ſoon broke away from the ſtern, and was ſtaved to pieces; ſo that when their proviſions and their water failed them, they had frequently no means of getting on ſhore to ſearch for a freſh ſupply.

After the long-boat and cutter were gone, the captain, and thoſe who were left with him, propoſed to paſs

paſs to the northward in the barge and yaul: but the weather was ſo bad, and the difficulty of ſubſiſting ſo great, that it was two months from the departure of the long-boat before he was able to put to ſea. It ſeems, the place where the Wager was caſt away was not a part of the continent, as was firſt imagined, but an iſland at ſome diſtance from the main, which afforded no other ſort of proviſion but ſhell-fiſh and a few herbs; and as the greateſt part of what they had gotten from the ſhip was carried off in the long-boat, the captain and his people were often in extreme want of food, eſpecially as they choſe to preſerve what little ſea-proviſions remained, for their ſtore when they ſhould go to the northward. During their reſidence at this iſland, which was by the ſeamen denominated Wager's Iſland, they had now and then a ſtraggling canoe or two of Indians, which came and bartered their fiſh and other proviſions with our people. This was ſome little relief to their neceſſities, and at another ſeaſon might perhaps have been greater; for as there were ſeveral Indian huts on the ſhore, it was ſuppoſed that in ſome years, during the height of ſummer, many of theſe ſavages might reſort thither to fiſh.

On this occaſion it is much to be lamented, that the Wager's people had no knowlege of the Anna Pink being ſo near them on the coaſt; for as ſhe was not above thirty leagues diſtant from them, and came into their neighbourhood about the ſame time the Wager was loſt, and was a fine roomy ſhip, ſhe could eaſily have taken them all on board, and have carried them to Juan Fernandes. Indeed, it is probable ſhe was ſtill nearer to them than what is here eſtimated; for ſeveral of the Wager's people, at different times, heard the report of a cannon, which could be no other than the evening gun fired from the Anna Pink. But to return to captain Cheap:

Upon the 14th of December, the captain and his people embarked in the barge and the yaul, in order

to proceed to the northward, taking on board with them all the proviſions they could amaſs from the wreck of the ſhip; but they had ſcarcely been an hour at ſea when the wind began to blow hard, and the ſea ran ſo high, that they were obliged to throw the greateſt part of their proviſions over-board, to avoid immediate deſtruction: and to add to their diſtreſs, about a fortnight after, the yaul ſunk at an anchor, and one of the men in her was drowned. As the barge was incapable of carrying the whole company, they were now reduced to the hard neceſſity of leaving four marines behind them on that deſolate ſhore. Notwithſtanding theſe diſaſters, they ſtill kept on their courſe to the northward, though greatly delayed by the perverſeneſs of the winds, and the frequent interruptions which their ſearch after food occaſioned, and conſtantly ſtruggling with a ſeries of the moſt unfortunate events: till at laſt, it was unanimouſly reſolved, finding the difficulties inſurmountable, to give over this expedition, and to return again to Wager Iſland, where they got back about the middle of February, quite diſheartened and almoſt periſhing with hunger and fatigue.

However, on their return, they had the good luck to meet with ſeveral pieces of beef, which had been waſhed out of the wreck, and were ſwimming in the ſea. This was a moſt ſeaſonable relief to them after the hardſhips they had endured: and to compleat their good fortune, there came, in a ſhort time, two canoes of Indians, amongſt which was a native of Chiloe, who ſpoke a little Spaniſh; and the ſurgeon, who was with captain Cheap, underſtanding that language, he made a bargain with the Indian, that if he would carry the captain and his people to Chiloe in the barge, he ſhould have her, and all that belonged to her for his pains. Accordingly, on the 6th of March, the eleven perſons to which the company was now reduced, embarked in the barge on this new expedition; but after having proceeded for a few

days, the captain and four of his principal officers being on ſhore, the ſix, who together with an Indian remained in the barge, put off with her to ſea, and did not return again.

By this means there were left on ſhore captain Cheap, Mr. Hamilton lieutenant of Marines, the honourable Mr. Byron and Mr. Campbell, midſhipmen, and Mr. Elliot the ſurgeon. One would have thought that their diſtreſſes had long before this time been incapable of augmentation; but they found, on reflexion, that their preſent ſituation was much more diſmaying than any thing they had yet gone through, being left on a deſolate coaſt without any proviſion, or the means of procuring any. But when they were perſuaded that they had no relief to hope for, they perceived a canoe at a diſtance, which proved to be that of the Indian, who had undertaken to carry them to Chiloe, he and his family being then on board it. He made no difficulty of coming to them; for it ſeems he had left captain Cheap and his people a little before to go a fiſhing, and had in the mean time committed them to the care of the other Indian, whom the ſailors had carried to ſea in the barge. When he came on ſhore, and found the barge gone, and his companion miſſing, he was extremely concerned, and could with difficulty be perſuaded that the other Indian was not murthered; yet being at laſt ſatisfied with the account that was given him, he ſtill undertook to carry them to the Spaniſh ſettlements, and (as the Indians are well ſkilled in fiſhing and fowling) to procure them proviſions by the way.

About the middle of March captain Cheap and the four who were left with him ſet out for Chiloe, the Indian having provided a number of canoes, and gotten many of his neighbours together for that purpoſe. Soon after they embarked, Mr. Elliot the ſurgeon died, ſo that there now remained only four of the whole company. At laſt, after a very complicated paſſage by land and water, captain Cheap,

Mr. Byron, and Mr. Campbell, arrived in the beginning of June at the iſland of Chiloe, where they were received by the Spaniards with great humanity; but, on account of ſome quarrel among the Indians, Mr. Hamilton did not get there till two months later. Thus, was it above a twelvemonth from the loſs of the Wager, before the fatiguing peregrination ended: and not till, by a variety of misfortunes, the company was diminiſhed from twenty to no more than four, and thoſe too brought ſo low, that, had their diſtreſſes continued but a few days longer, in all probability none of them would have ſurvived. After ſome ſtay at Chiloe, the captain and the three who were with him were ſent to Valparaiſo, and thence to St. Jago, the capital of Chili, where they continued above a year: but on the advice of a cartel being ſettled betwixt Great Britain and Spain, captain Cheap, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Hamilton were permitted to return to Europe on board a French ſhip. The other midſhipman, Mr Campbel, having changed his religion, whilſt at Jago, choſe to go back to Buenos Ayres with Pizarro and his officers, with whom he went afterward to Spain on board the Aſia; but having there failed in his endeavours to procure a commiſſion from the court of Spain, he returned to England, and attempted to get reinſtated in the Britiſh navy. And now, after this account of the accidents which befel the Anna Pink, and the cataſtrophe of the Wager, I ſhall again reſume the thread of our own ſtory.

About a week after the arrival of our victualler, the Tryal ſloop, that had been ſent to the iſland of Maſa-Fuero, returned to an anchor at Juan Fernandes, having been round that iſland, without meeting any part of our ſquadron. The following is the account given of this place, by the officers of the Tryal ſloop.

The Spaniards having generally mentioned two iſlands under the name of Juan Fernandes, ſtyling them

them the greater and the leſs; the greater being that iſland where we anchored, and the leſs being the iſland we are now deſcribing, which, becauſe it is more diſtant from the continent, they have diſtinguiſhed by the name of Maſa-Fuero. The Tryal ſloop found that it bore from the greater Juan Fernandes weſt by ſouth, and was about twenty-two leagues diſtant. It is a much larger and better ſpot than has been generally reported. They found too, that there was a place where a ſhip might come to an anchor on the north ſide of it, though indeed the anchorage is inconvenient; for the bank extends but a little way, is ſteep too, and has very deep water upon it, ſo that ſhips muſt come to an anchor very near the ſhore, and there lie expoſed to all the winds but a ſoutherly one: and beſides the inconvenience of the anchorage, there is alſo a reef of rocks running off the eaſtern point of the iſland, about two miles in length; though there is little danger to be feared from them, becauſe they are always to be ſeen by the ſeas breaking over them. This place has at preſent one advantage beyond the iſland of Juan Fernandes; for it abounds with goats, who, not being accuſtomed to be diſturbed, were no ways ſhy or apprehenſive of danger, till they had been frequently fired at: and, upon the whole, they ſeemed to imagine, that though it was not the moſt eligible place for a ſhip to refreſh at, yet, in caſe of neceſſity, it might afford ſome ſort of ſhelter, and prove of conſiderable uſe, eſpecially to a ſingle ſhip, who might apprehend meeting with a ſuperior force at Fernandes.

The latter part of the month of Auguſt was ſpent in unloading the proviſions from the Anna Pink; when we had the mortification to find that great quantities of our proviſions, as bread, rice, grots, were decayed, and unfit for uſe. And now, as we had no farther occaſion for her ſervice, the commodore, purſuant to his orders from the board of admiralty, ſent notice to Mr. Gerard, her maſter, that he

diſcharged the Anna Pink from attending the ſquadron; and gave him, at the ſame time a certificate ſpecifying how long ſhe had been employed. But the maſter repreſenting it as his opinion, that it was impoſſible to proceed to ſea with her before ſhe had been thoroughly refitted; he therefore requeſted the commodore, that the carpenters of the ſquadron might be directed to ſurvey her, that their judgment of her condition might be known. In compliance with this deſire, Mr. Anſon immediately ordered the carpenters to take a careful and ſtrict ſurvey of the Anna Pink; purſuant to which, the carpenters immediately ſet about the examination, and the next day made their report: the amount was, that in conſequence of the defects and decays they certified, in their opinion ſhe could not depart from the iſland without great hazard, unleſs ſhe was firſt of all thoroughly refitted. But as the repairs propoſed by the carpenters were, in our preſent ſituation, impoſſible to be complied with; the commodore therefore agreed with Mr. Gerard to purchaſe the whole together for 300 l. The Pink being thus broken up, Mr. Gerard, with the hands belonging to the Pink, were ſent on board the Glouceſter; as that ſhip had buried the greateſt number of men, in proportion to their compliment.

This tranſaction brought us down to the beginning of September, and our people by this time were ſo far recovered of the ſcurvy, that there was little danger of burying any more at preſent; and therefore I ſhall now ſum up the total of our loſs ſince our departure from England, the better to convey ſome idea of our paſt ſufferings, and of our preſent ſtrength. We had buried on board the Centurion ſince our leaving St. Helen's, two hundred and ninety-two, and had now remaining on board two hundred and fourteen. This will doubtleſs appear a moſt extraordinary mortality: but yet on board the Glouceſter it had been much greater; for out of a much

much ſmaller crew than ours they had loſt the ſame number, and had only eighty-two remaining alive. It might be expected that on board the Tryal, the ſlaughter would have been the moſt terrible, as her decks were almoſt conſtantly knee deep in water; but it happened otherwiſe, for ſhe eſcaped more favourably than the reſt, ſince ſhe only buried forty-two, and had now thirty-nine remaining alive. The havock of this diſeaſe had fallen ſtill ſeverer on the invalids and marines than on the ſailors; for on board the Centurion, out of fifty invalids and ſeventy-nine marines, there remained only four invalids, including officers, and eleven marines: and on board the Glouceſter, every invalid periſhed; and out of forty-eight marines, only two eſcaped. From this account it appears, that the three ſhips together departed from England with nine hundred and ſixty-one men on board, of whom ſix hundred and twenty-ſix were dead before this time; ſo that the whole of our remaining crews, which were now to be diſtributed amongſt three ſhips, amounted to no more than three hundred and thirty-five men and boys; a number greatly inſufficient for the manning the Centurion alone, and barely capable of navigating all the three, with the utmoſt exertion of their ſtrength and vigour. This prodigious reduction of our men was ſtill the more terrifying, as we were hitherto uncertain of the fate of Pizarro's ſquadron.

In the beginning of September, as has been already mentioned, our men were tolerably well recovered; and now, the ſeaſon for navigation in this climate drawing near, we exerted ourſelves in getting all our ſhips in readineſs for the ſea. Thus all hands being employed in forwarding our departure, we, on the 8th, about eleven in the morning, eſpied a ſail to the north-eaſt, which continued to approach us, till her courſes appeared even with the horizon. Whilſt ſhe advanced, we had great hopes ſhe might prove one of our own ſqua-

dron; but as at length ſhe ſteered away to the eaſtward, without haling in for the iſland, we thence concluded ſhe muſt be a Spaniard. It was reſolved to purſue her, and the Centurion being in the greateſt forwardneſs, we immediately got all our hands on board, ſet up our rigging, bent our ſails, and by five in the afternoon got under ſail. We had at this time very little wind, ſo that all the boats were employed to tow us out of the bay; and even what wind there was, laſted only long enough to give us an offing of two or three leagues, when it flatted to a calm. The night coming on, we loſt ſight of the chace, and were extremely impatient for the return of day-light, in hopes to find that ſhe had been becalmed as well as we; though her greater diſtance from the land was a reaſonable ground for ſuſpecting the contrary; as we indeed found in the morning, to our great mortification; for though the weather continued perfectly clear, we had no ſight of the ſhip from the maſt-head. But as we were now ſatisfied that it was an enemy, and the firſt we had ſeen in theſe ſeas, we reſolved not to give over the ſearch lightly. We continued on this courſe all that day and the next, and then, not getting ſight of our chace, we gave over the purſuit; but on the 12th, at day-break, we were agreeably ſurprized with the ſight of a ſail on our weather-bow, between four and five leagues diſtant. We immediately crouded all the ſail we could, and ſtood after her, and ſoon perceived it not to be the ſame ſhip we originally gave chace to. She at firſt bore down upon us, ſhewing Spaniſh colours, and making a ſignal as to her conſort; but obſerving that we did not anſwer her ſignal, ſhe inſtantly looſed cloſe to the wind, and ſtood to the ſouthward. Our people were now all in ſpirits, and put the ſhip about with great briſkneſs; and as the chace appeared to be a large ſhip, and had miſtaken us for her conſort, we conceived that ſhe was a man of war, and probably one

of

of Pizarro's ſquadron: this induced the commodore to order all the officers cabins to be knocked down and thrown over-board, with ſeveral caſks of water and proviſions which ſtood between the guns; ſo that we had ſoon a clear ſhip, ready for an engagement. About ten o'clock we were near enough to diſcover that ſhe was only a merchantman, without ſo much as a ſingle tier of guns. At half an hour after twelve, being got within a reaſonable diſtance of her, we fired four ſhot amongſt her rigging; on which they lowered their top-ſails, and bore down to us, but in very great confuſion, their top-gallant ſails and ſtay-ſails all fluttering in the winds: this was owing to their having let run their ſheets and halyards juſt as we fired at them. After which, not a man amongſt them had courage enough to venture aloft to take them in. As ſoon as the veſſel came within hale of us, the commodore ordered them to bring to under his lee-quarter, and then hoiſted out the boat, and ſent Mr. Saumurez, his firſt lieutenant, to take poſſeſſion of the prize. When Mr. Saumurez came on board them, they received him at the ſide, with the ſtrongeſt tokens of the moſt abject ſubmiſſion; for they were all of them (eſpecially the paſſengers, who were twenty-five in number) extremely terrified, and under the greateſt apprehenſions of meeting with very ſevere and cruel uſage; but the lieutenant endeavoured, with great courteſy, to diſſipate their fright, aſſuring them that their fears were altogether groundleſs. The priſoners who were ſent on board the Centurion informed us, that our prize was called Nueſtra Senoral del Monte Carmelo, and was commanded by Don Manuel Zamorra. Her cargo conſiſted chiefly of ſugar, and great quantities of blue cloth made in the province of Quito, ſomewhat reſembling our Engliſh coarſe broad-cloth, but inferior to them; with a few bales of cotton, and ſome tobacco; which, though ſtrong, was not ill flavoured.

flavoured. Theſe were the principal goods on board her; but we found beſide, what was to us much more valuable than the reſt of the cargoe; this was ſome trunks of wrought plate, and twenty-three ſerons of dollars, each weighing upwards of 200 pounds averdupois. She was bound to the port of Valparaiſo in the kingdom of Chili, and propoſed to have returned from thence loaded with corn and Chili wine, ſome gold, dried beef, and ſmall cordage, which at Calloa they convert into large rope. Our prize had been built upward of thirty years; yet, as they lie in harbour all the winter months, and the climate is favourable, they eſteemed it no very great age. Her rigging was very indifferent, as were likewiſe her ſails, which were made of cotton. She had only three four-pounders, which were altogether unſerviceable, their carriages being ſcarcely able to ſupport them: and there were no ſmall arms on board, except a few piſtols belonging to the paſſengers. The priſoners informed us, that they left Callao in company with two other ſhips, whom they had parted with ſome days before, and that at firſt they conceived us to be one of their company.

After this ſhort account of the ſhip and her cargo, it is neceſſary to relate the important intelligence which we met with on board her, partly from the information of the priſoners, and partly from the letters and papers which fell into our hands. We here firſt learnt with certainty the force and deſtination of that ſquadron, which cruiſed off the Madeiras at our arrival there, and afterwards chaſed the Pearl, in our paſſage to port St. Julian. We had, at the ſame time too, the ſatisfaction to find, that Pizarro, after his utmoſt endeavours to gain his paſſage into theſe ſeas, had been forced back again into the river of Plate, with the loſs of two of his largeſt ſhips: and beſides this diſappointment of Pizarro, which, conſidering our great debility, was no unacceptable intelligence,

telligence, we farther learnt, to our great ſatisfaction, that though an embargo had been laid upon all ſhipping in theſe ſeas by the viceroy of Peru, in the month of May preceding, yet it now no longer ſubſiſted. For on the account ſent over land by Pizarro of his own diſtreſſes, part of which they knew we muſt have encountered, and on their having no news of us in eight months after we were known to ſet ſail from St. Catharine's, they were fully ſatisfied that we were either periſhed at ſea, or at leaſt had been obliged to put back again; as it was conceived impoſſible for any ſhips to continue at ſea during ſo long an interval.

We alſo learnt from the letters on board, that Pizarro, in the expreſs he diſpatched to the viceroy of Peru, had intimated to him, that if any of the Engliſh ſquadron did arrive in thoſe ſeas, it muſt be in a very defenceleſs condition; he therefore adviſed the viceroy, to ſend what ſhips of war he had to the ſouthward, where, in all probability, they would intercept us ſingly, before we had an opportunity of touching at any port for refreſhment; in which caſe, he doubted not but we ſhould prove an eaſy conqueſt. The viceroy of Peru approved of this advice: and as he had already fitted out four ſhips of force from Callao; one of fifty guns, two of forty guns, and one of twenty-four guns, which were intended to join Pizarro when he arrived on the coaſt of Chili: the viceroy now ſtationed three of theſe off the port of Conception, and one of them at the iſland of Fernandes, where they continued cruiſing for us till the 6th of June; and then not ſeeing any thing of us, and conceiving it to be impoſſible that we could have kept the ſeas ſo long, they quitted their cruiſe and returned to Callao, fully perſuaded that we had either periſhed, or at leaſt had been driven back. We alſo were told, that theſe Spaniſh ſhips ſent out to intercept us, had been greatly ſhattered by a ſtorm during their cruiſe; and that, after their arrival at Callao, they had been laid

laid up; and that whenever intelligence was received at Lima, of our being in theſe ſeas, it would be at leaſt two months before this armament could be again fitted out.

The whole of this intelligence was as favourable as we, in our reduced circumſtances, could wiſh for. And now we were no longer at a loſs, as to the broken jars, aſhes, and fiſh-bones, which we had obſerved at our firſt landing at Juan Fernandes, theſe things being doubtleſs the relicts of the cruiſers ſtationed off that port. Having thus ſatisfied ourſelves in the material articles of our inquiry, and having gotten on board the Centurion moſt of the priſoners, and all the ſilver, we, at eight in the evening, made ſail to the northward, in company with our prize, and at ſix the next morning diſcovered the iſland of Fernandes, where, the following day, both we and our prize came to an anchor.

And here I cannot omit one remarkable incident, which occurred when the prize and her crew came into the bay, where the reſt of the ſquadron lay. The Spaniards in the Carmelo had been ſufficiently informed of the diſtreſſes we had gone through, and were greatly ſurpriſed that we had ever ſurmounted them: but when they ſaw the Tryal ſloop at anchor, they were ſtill more aſtoniſhed, that after all our fatigues we had the induſtry (beſide refitting our other ſhips) to complete ſuch a veſſel in ſo ſhort a time, they taking it for granted that we had built her upon the ſpot. Nor was it without great difficulty they were at laſt prevailed on to believe that ſhe came from England with the reſt of the ſquadron; they long inſiſting, that it was impoſſible ſuch a bauble as that could paſs round Cape Horn, when the beſt ſhips of Spain were obliged to put back.

By the time we arrived at Juan Fernandes, the letters found on board our prize were more minutely examined: and it appearing from them, and from the

the accounts of our priſoners, that ſeveral other merchantmen were bound from Callao to Valparaiſo, Mr. Anſon diſpatched the Tryal ſloop the very next morning, to cruiſe off the laſt-mentioned port, reinforcing her with ten hands from on board his own ſhip. He likewiſe reſolved to ſeparate the ſhips under his command, and employ them in diſtinct cruiſes; as he thought that by this means we ſhould increaſe our chance for prizes, but that we ſhould likewiſe run a leſs riſque of alarming the coaſt, and of being diſcovered. And now the ſpirits of our people being greatly raiſed, and their deſpondency diſſipated by this earneſt of ſucceſs, they forgot all their paſt diſtreſſes, and reſumed their wonted alacrity, labouring indefatigably in compleating our water, and in preparing to take our farewel of the iſland. But as theſe occupations took us up four or five days, with all our induſtry, the commodore, in that interval, directed that the guns belonging to the Anna Pink, being four ſix-pounders, four four-pounders, and two ſwivels, ſhould be mounted on board the Carmelo, our prize: and having ſent on board the Glouceſter ſix paſſengers, and twenty-three ſeamen to aſſiſt in navigating the ſhip, he directed captain Mitchel to leave the iſland as ſoon as poſſible, the ſervice demanding the utmoſt diſpatch, ordering him to proceed to the latitude of five degrees ſouth, and there to cruiſe off the high land of Paita, at ſuch a diſtance from ſhore, as ſhould prevent his being diſcovered. On this ſtation he was to continue till he was joined by the commodore, which would be whenever it ſhould be known that the viceroy had fitted out the ſhips at Callao, or on Mr. Anſon's receiving any other intelligence, that ſhould make it neceſſary to unite our ſtrength. Theſe orders being delivered to the captain of the Glouceſter, and all our buſineſs compleated, we, on the Saturday following, being the 19th of September, weighed anchor

chor in company with our prize, and got out of the bay, taking our laſt leave of the iſland of Juan Fernandes, and ſteering to the eaſtward, with an intention of joining the Tryal ſloop, in her ſtation off Valparaiſo.

On the 24th, a little before ſun-ſet, we ſaw two ſail to the eaſtward; on which our prize ſtood directly from us, to avoid giving any ſuſpicion of our being cruiſers, whilſt we made ourſelves ready for an engagement, and ſteered with all our canvas toward the two ſhips we had diſcovered. We ſoon perceived that one of theſe, which had the appearance of being a very ſtout ſhip, made directly for us, whilſt the other kept at a great diſtance. By ſeven o'clock we were within piſtol-ſhot of the neareſt, and had a broad-ſide ready to pour into her; but as we knew it was now impoſſible for her to eſcape us, Mr. Anſon, before he permitted us to fire, ordered the maſter to hale the ſhip in Spaniſh; on which the commanding officer on board her, who proved to be Mr. Hughs, lieutenant of the Tryal, anſwered us in Engliſh, and informed us that ſhe was a prize, taken by the Tryal a few days before, and that the other ſail at a diſtance was the Tryal herſelf, diſabled in her maſts. We were ſoon after joined by the Tryal, and captain Saunders, her commander. He acquainted the commodore, that he had taken this ſhip the 18th inſtant; that ſhe was a prime ſailor, and had coſt him thirty-ſix hours chace before he could come up with her; that for ſome time he gained ſo little upon her, that he began to deſpair of taking her; and the Spaniards, though alarmed at firſt with ſeeing nothing but a cloud of ſail in purſuit of them, the Tryal's hull being ſo low in the water that no part of it appeared, yet knowing the goodneſs of their ſhip, and finding how little the Tryal neared them, they at length laid aſide their fears, and recommending themſelves to the bleſſed Virgin for protection, began to think themſelves ſecure. Indeed their ſucceſs was very near doing honour

nour to their Ave Marias; for altering their courſe in the night, and ſhutting up their windows to prevent any of their lights from being ſeen, they had ſome chance of eſcaping; but a ſmall crevice in one of the ſhutters rendered all their invocations ineffectual; for through this crevice, the people on board the Tryal perceived a light, which they chaſed till they arrived within gun-ſhot, and then captain Saunders alarmed them unexpectedly with a broadſide, when they flattered themſelves they were got out of his reach: however, for ſome time after they ſtill kept the ſame ſail abroad, and it was not obſerved that this firſt ſalute had made any impreſſion on them; but, juſt as the Tryal was preparing to repeat her broadſide, the Spaniards crept from their holes, lowered their ſails, and ſubmitted without any oppoſition. She was one of the largeſt merchantmen employed in thoſe ſeas, being about ſix hundred tons burthen, and was called the Arranzazu. She was bound from Callao to Valparaiſo, and had much the ſame cargo with the Carmelo we had taken before, except that her ſilver amounted only to about 5000 l. ſterling.

But to ballance this ſucceſs, we had the misfortune to find that the Tryal had not now a maſt left on which ſhe could carry ſail, and the wind blew ſo hard, and raiſed ſuch a hollow ſea, that we could not venture to hoiſt out our boat, and conſequently could have no communication with her; ſo that we were obliged to lie to for the greateſt part of forty-eight hours to attend her, as we could have no thought of leaving her to herſelf in her preſent unhappy ſituation.

The weather proving ſomewhat more moderate on the 27th, we ſent our boat for the captain of the Tryal, who, when he came on board us, produced an inſtrument, ſigned by himſelf and all his officers, repreſenting that the ſloop, beſide being diſmaſted, was ſo very leaky in her hull, that even in moderate weather it was neceſſary to ply the pumps conſtantly, and

and that they were then ſcarcely ſufficient to keep her free; and, upon the whole, they apprehended her to be at preſent ſo very defective, that if they met with much bad weather, they muſt all inevitably periſh; and therefore they petitioned the commodore to take ſome meaſures for their future ſafety. But the refitting of the Tryal at preſent exceeded our power. The commodore therefore had no choice left him, but was under a neceſſity of taking out our people and deſtroying her. When this was reſolved on, Mr. Anſon gave orders to captain Saunders to put it in execution, directing him to take out of the ſloop every thing that could be of any uſe to the other ſhips, and then to ſcuttle and ſink her. After captain Saunders had ſeen her deſtroyed, he was to proceed with his new frigate, to be called the Tryal Prize, now mounting twenty guns, and to cruiſe off the highland of Valparaiſo, keeping it from him north north-weſt, at the diſtance of twelve or fourteen leagues: for as all ſhips bound from Valparaiſo to the northward ſteer that courſe, Mr. Anſon propoſed by this means to ſtop any intelligence that might be diſpatched to Callao, of two of their ſhips being miſſing, which might give them apprehenſions of the Engliſh ſquadron being in their neighbourhood. The Tryal's prize was to continue on this ſtation twenty-four days, and, if not joined by the commodore at the expiration of that term, ſhe was then to proceed down the coaſt to Piſco or Naſca, where ſhe would be certain to meet with Mr. Anſon. The commodore likewiſe ordered lieutenant Saumarez, who commanded the Centurion's prize, to keep company with captain Saunders, both to aſſiſt him in unloading the ſloop, and alſo that by ſpreading in their cruiſe, there might be leſs danger of any of the enemy's ſhips ſlipping by unobſerved. Theſe orders being diſpatched, the Centurion parted from the other veſſels at eleven in the evening, on the 27th of September, directing her courſe to the ſouthward, with a

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view of cruiſing for ſome days to the windward of Valparaiſo.

By this diſtribution of our ſhips, we flattered ourſelves that we had taken all the advantages of the enemy that we poſſibly could with our ſmall force; for, as we might ſuppoſe, the Glouceſter by this time to be drawing near the highland of Paita, we were enabled, by our ſeparate ſtations, to intercept all veſſels employed either betwixt Peru and Chili to the ſouthward, or betwixt Panama and Peru to the northward.

But the moſt prudent diſpoſitions carry with them only a probability of ſucceſs, and can never inſure its certainty: ſince thoſe chances, which it was reaſonable to overlook in deliberation, are ſometimes of moſt powerful influence in execution. Thus in the preſent caſe, the diſtreſs of the Tryal, and our quitting our ſtation to aſſiſt her (events which no degree of prudence could either foreſee or obviate) gave an opportunity to all the ſhips bound to Valparaiſo, to reach that port without moleſtation, during this unlucky interval. So that, after leaving captain Saunders, we were very expeditious in regaining our ſtation, where we got the 29th at noon, yet in plying on and off till the 6th of October, we had not the good fortune to diſcover a ſail of any ſort: and then having loſt all hopes of meeting with better fortune by a longer ſtay, we made ſail to the leeward of the port, in order to join our prizes: but when we arrived off the highland where they were directed to cruiſe, we did not find them, though we continued there for four or five days. We ſuppoſed that ſome chace had occaſioned their leaving their ſtation, and therefore we proceeded down the coaſt to the highland of Naſca, which was the ſecond rendezvous where captain Saunders was directed to join us. Here we got on the 21ſt, and were in great expectation of falling in with ſome of the enemy's veſſels, as both the accounts of former voyagers, and

the information of our priſoners aſſured us, that all ſhips bound to Callao conſtantly make this land, to prevent the danger of running to the leeward of the port. But notwithſtanding the advantages of this ſtation, we ſaw no ſail till the 2d of November, when two ſhips appeared in ſight together: we immediately gave them chace, and ſoon perceived that they were the Tryal's and Centurion's prizes. We found they had not been more fortunate in their cruiſe than we were; for they had ſeen no veſſel ſince they ſeparated from us.

The little ſucceſs we all had, and our certainty, that, had any ſhips been ſtirring in theſe ſeas for ſome time paſt, we muſt have met with them, made us believe, that the enemy, on miſſing the two ſhips we had taken, had laid an embargo on all the trade in the ſouthern parts. We likewiſe apprehended that they might, by this time, be fitting out the men of war at Callao; as it was no uncommon thing for an expreſs from Valparaiſo to reach Lima in twenty nine or thirty days, and it was now more than fifty ſince we had taken our firſt prize. Theſe apprehenſions determined the commodore to haſten down to the leeward of Callao, and to join captain Mitchel, who was ſtationed off Paita, as ſoon as poſſible, that our ſtrength being united, we might be prepared to give the ſhips from Callao a warm reception, if they dared to put to ſea. With this view we bore away the ſame afternoon, taking particular care to keep at ſuch a diſtance from the ſhore, that there might be no danger of our being diſcovered from thence: for we knew that all the country ſhips were commanded, under the ſevereſt penalty, not to ſail by the port of Callao without ſtopping; and as this order was conſtantly complied with, we ſhould undoubtedly be known for enemies, if we were ſeen to act contrary to it. In this new navigation, not being certain whether we might not meet

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the Spaniſh ſquadron, in our route, the commodore took on board the Centurion part of his crew, with which he had formerly manned the Carmelo. And now ſtanding to the northward, we, before night came on, had a view of the ſmall iſland called St. Gallan, which bore from us north north-eaſt, ½ eaſt, about ſeven leagues diſtant. This land lies in the latitude of about fourteen degrees ſouth, and about five miles to the northward of a highland, called Morro Veijo, or the Old Man's Head. I mention this iſland and the highland near it, more particularly, becauſe between them is the moſt eligible ſtation on that coaſt, for cruiſing upon the enemy; as hereabout all ſhips bound to Callao, whether from the northward or the ſouthward, run well in with the land.

On the 5th of November, in the afternoon, we had the ſatisfaction ſo long wiſhed for, of ſeeing a ſail. She firſt appeared to leeward, and we all immediately gave her chace; but the Centurion ſo much outſailed the two prizes, that we ſoon ran them out of ſight, and gained conſiderably on the chace: however, night coming on before we came up with her, we, about ſeven o'clock, loſt ſight of her, and were in ſome perplexity what courſe to ſteer; but at laſt Mr. Anſon reſolved, as we were then before the wind, to keep all his ſails ſet, and not to change his courſe; for though we had no doubt but the chace would alter her courſe in the night, yet, as it was uncertain what tack ſhe would go upon, it was thought prudent to keep on our courſe, as we muſt by this means unavoidably come near her, rather than to change it on conjecture. Thus then we continued the chace about an hour and an half in the dark, ſome one or other on board us conſtantly imagining they diſcerned her ſails right a-head of us; but at length Mr. Brett, our ſecond lieutenant, did really diſcover her, about four points on the larboard-bow, ſteering off to the ſeaward: we imme-

diately clapped the helm a-weather, and ſtood for her; and in leſs than an hour came up with her; and having fired fourteen ſhot at her, ſhe ſtruck. Our third lieutenant, Mr. Dennis, was ſent in the boat, with ſixteen men, to take poſſeſſion of the prize, and to return the priſoners to our ſhip. This veſſel was named the Santa Tereſa de Jeſus, built at Guaiaquil, of about three hundred tons burthen, and was commanded by Bartolome Urrunaga, a Biſcayer; ſhe was bound from Guaiaquil to Callao; her loading conſiſted of timber, cocao, coco-nuts, tobacco, hides, Pito thread, (which is very ſtrong, and is made of a ſpecies of graſs) Quito cloth, wax, &c. The ſpecie on board her was inconſiderable, being principally ſmall ſilver money, and not amounting to more than 170 l. ſterling. It is true, her cargo was of great value, could we have diſpoſed of it: but the Spaniards having ſtrict orders never to ranſom their ſhips, all the goods that we took in theſe ſeas, except what little we had occaſion for ourſelves, were of no advantage to us. Indeed, though we could make no profit thereby ourſelves, it was ſome ſatisfaction to us to conſider, that it was ſo much really loſt to the enemy, and the deſpoiling them was no contemptible branch of that ſervice, in which we were now employed by our country.

Beſide our prize's crew, which amounted to forty-five hands, there were on board her ten paſſengers, conſiſting of four men and three women, who were natives of the country, born of Spaniſh parents, together with three black ſlaves that attended them. The women were a mother and her two daughters, the eldeſt about twenty-one, and the youngeſt about fourteen. It is not to be wondered at, that women of thoſe years ſhould be exceſſively alarmed at the falling into the hands of an enemy, whom, from the former outrages of the buccaneers, and by the artful inſinuations of their prieſts, they had been taught to conſider as the moſt terrible

rible and brutal of all mankind. Theſe apprehenſions too were in the preſent inſtance ſtrengthened by the ſingular beauty of the youngeſt of the women, and the riotous diſpoſition which they might well expect to find in a ſet of ſailors, who had not ſeen a woman for near a twelvemonth. Full of theſe terrors, the women all hid themſelves upon our officers coming on board, and when they were found out, it was with great difficulty that he could perſuade them to approach the light: however, he ſoon ſatisfied them, by the humanity of his conduct, and by his aſſurance of their future ſecurity and honourable treatment, that they had nothing to fear. Nor were theſe aſſurances of the officer invalidated in the ſequel: for the commodore being informed of the matter, ſent directions that they ſhould be continued on board their own ſhip, with the uſe of the ſame apartments, and with all the other conveniencies they had enjoyed before, giving ſtrict orders that they ſhould receive no kind of inquietude or moleſtation whatever: and that they might be the more certain of having theſe orders complied with, or have the means of complaining if they were not, the commodore permitted the pilot, who in Spaniſh ſhips is generally the ſecond perſon on board, to ſtay with them, as their guardian and protector. By this indulgent behaviour of the commodore, the conſternation of our female priſoners entirely ſubſided, and they continued eaſy and chearful during the whole time they were with us.

At the beginning of this chace the Centurion, as has been obſerved, ran her two conſorts out of ſight. When they had joined us, we proceeded together to the northward, being now four ſail in company. We here found the ſea, for many miles round us, of a beautiful red colour: this, upon examination, we imputed to an immenſe quantity of ſpawn ſpread upon its ſurface; for, taking up ſome of the water

in a wine-glaſs, it ſoon changed from a dirty aſpect to a clear cryſtal, with only ſome red globules of a ſlimy nature floating on the top. At preſent having a ſupply of timber on board our new prize, the commodore ordered our boats to be repaired, and a ſwivel gun-ſtock to be fixed in the bow both of the barge and pinnace, in order to encreaſe their force, in caſe we ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to them for boarding ſhips, or for any attempts on ſhore.

As we ſtood from hence to the northward, nothing remarkable occurred for two or three days; though we ſpread our ſhips in ſuch a manner, that it was not probable any veſſel of the enemy could eſcape us. In our run along this coaſt we generally obſerved, that there was a current which ſet us to the northward, at the rate of ten or twelve miles each day. And now being in about eight degrees ſouth latitude, we began to be attended with vaſt numbers of flying fiſh and bonitos, which were the firſt we ſaw after our departure from the coaſt of Braſil. But it is remarkable, that on the eaſt ſide of South America they extended to a much higher latitude than they do the weſt ſide; for we did not loſe them on the coaſt of Braſil, till we approached the ſouthern tropic. The reaſon for this diverſity is doubtleſs the different degrees of heat obtaining in the ſame latitude on different ſides of that continent.

The compariſon of the heat and cold of various climates, has as yet been very imperfectly conſidered. However, enough is known ſafely to determine this poſition, that all places between the tropics are far from being the hotteſt on the globe; as many of thoſe within the polar circles are far from enduring that extreme degree of cold, to which their ſituation ſhould ſeem to ſubject them: that is to ſay, that the temperature of a place depends much more upon other circumſtances, than upon

upon its diſtance from the pole, or its proximity to the equinoctial.

This propoſition relates to the general temperature of places, taking the whole year round; and in this ſenſe it cannot be denied, that the city of London, for inſtance, enjoys much warmer ſeaſons than the bottom of Hudſon's bay, which is nearly in the ſame latitude with it; but where the ſeverity of the winter is ſo great, that it will ſcarcely permit the hardieſt of our garden plants to live. And if the compariſon be made between the coaſt of Braſil and the weſtern ſhore of South America, as, for example, betwixt Bahia and Lima, the difference will be ſtill more conſiderable; for though the coaſt of Brazil is extremely ſultry, yet the coaſt of the South Seas in the ſame latitude is perhaps as temperate and tolerable as any part of the globe; ſince in ranging along it, we did not once meet with ſo warm weather, as is frequent in a ſummer's day in England: which was ſtill the more remarkable, as there never fell any rains to refreſh and cool the air.

If this matter be examined by means of the thermometers, which in reſpect to the abſolute degree of heat and cold are doubtleſs the moſt unerring evidence; the reſult will be indeed moſt wonderful. Since it will hence appear, that the heat in very high latitudes, as at Peterſburgh for inſtance, is at particular times much greater than any that has been hitherto obſerved between the tropics; and that even at London in the year 1746, there was the part of one day conſiderably hotter than what was at any time felt by a ſhip of Mr. Anſon's ſquadron, in running from hence to Cape Horn and back again, and paſſing twice under the ſun.

If it ſhould be aſked, how it comes to paſs that the heat in many places between the tropics is eſteemed ſo violent and inſufferable, when it appears by theſe inſtances, that it is ſometimes exceeded in very high latitudes, the anſwer muſt be, that the eſtima-

tion of heat ought not to be founded upon that degree which may now and then obtain, but is rather to be deduced from the medium obſerved in a whole ſeaſon, or perhaps in a whole year: and in this light it will eaſily appear, how much more intenſe the ſame degree of heat may prove, by being long continued without remarkable variation. For inſtance, in comparing together St. Catharine's and Peterſburgh, we will ſuppoſe the ſummer heat at St. Catharine's to be 76°, by Farenheit's thermometer, and the winter heat to be twenty diviſions ſhort of it. Upon this ſuppoſition then, the medium heat all the year round will be 66°, and this perhaps by night as well as by day, with no great variation: now thoſe who have attended to thermometers will readily own, that a continuation of this degree of heat for a length of time would by the generality of mankind be ſtiled violent and ſuffocating. But at Peterſburgh, though a few times in the year the heat, by the thermometer, may be conſiderably greater than at St. Catharine's, yet, as at other times the cold is immenſely ſharper, the medium for a year, or even for one ſeaſon only, would be far ſhort of 66°.

Beſides this eſtimation of the heat of a place, by taking the medium for a conſiderable time together, there is another circumſtance which will ſtill augment the apparent heat of the warmer climates, and diminiſh that of the colder. The meaſure of abſolute heat, marked by the thermometer, is not the certain criterion of the ſenſation of heat with which human bodies are affected. For as the perpetual ſucceſſion of freſh air is neceſſary to reſpiration, ſo there is a ſpecies of tainted or ſtagnated air often produced by the continuance of great heats, which never fails to excite in us an idea of ſultrineſs and ſuffocating warmth, much beyond what the heat of the air alone, ſuppoſing it pure and agitated, would occaſion. Hence it follows, that the mere

inſpection

inſpection of the thermometer will never determine the heat which the human body feels from this cauſe; and hence it follows too, that the heat in moſt places between the tropics muſt be much more troubleſome and uneaſy, than the ſame degree of abſolute heat in a high latitude: for the equability and duration of the tropical heat contribute to impregnate the air with a multitude of ſteams and vapours not eaſily removed, by reaſon of the regularity of the winds in thoſe parts; which only ſhift the exhalations from place to place, without diſperſing them. Whereas in the higher latitudes theſe vapours are probably raiſed in ſmaller quantities, and the irregularity and violence of the winds frequently diſperſe them; ſo that, the air being in general pure and leſs ſtagnant, the ſame degree of abſolute heat is not attended with that uneaſy and ſuffocating ſenſation. This may ſuffice in general with reſpect to the preſent ſpeculation.

In this climate every circumſtance concurred, that could make the open air and day-light deſirable. For in other countries the ſcorching heat of the ſun in ſummer, renders the greater part of the day unapt either for labour or amuſement; and the frequent rains are not leſs troubleſome in the more temperate parts of the year. But in this happy climate the ſun rarely appears: not that the heavens have at any time a dark gloomy look; for there is conſtantly a chearful grey ſky, juſt ſufficient to ſcreen the ſun, without obſcuring the air, or tinging the day-light with an unpleaſant hue. By this means all parts of the day are proper for labour or exerciſe abroad; nor is there wanting that pleaſing refrigeration of the air, which is produced in other climates by rains; but is here brought about, by the freſh breezes from the cooler regions to the ſouthward. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that this fortunate complexion of the heavens is principally owing to the neighbourhood of thoſe vaſt hills, called the Andes, which

which running nearly parallel to the ſhore, and at a ſmall diſtance from it, and extending themſelves immenſely higher than any other mountains upon the globe, form upon their ſides and declivities a prodigious tract of country, where, according to the different approaches to the ſummit, all kinds of climates may, at all ſeaſons of the year, be found. Theſe mountains, by intercepting great part of the eaſtern winds, which generally blow over the continent of South America, by cooling that part of the air which forces its way over their tops, and by keeping beſide a large portion of the atmoſphere perpetually cool, from its contiguity to the ſnows with which they are covered; theſe hills, thus ſpreading the influence of their frozen creſts to the neighbouring coaſts and ſeas of Peru, are doubtleſs the cauſe of the temperature and equability which conſtantly prevail there. For when we were advanced beyond the equinoctial, where theſe mountains left us, and had nothing to ſcreen us to the eaſtward, but the high lands on the iſthmus of Panama, which are but mole-hills to the Andes, we then ſoon found that in a ſhort run we had totally changed our climate, paſſing in two or three days from the temperate air of Peru, to the ſultry burning atmoſphere of the Weſt Indies. But it is time to return to our narration.

On the 10th of November we were three leagues ſouth of the ſouthermoſt iſland of Lobos, lying in the latitude of 6° : 27′ ſouth: there are two iſlands of this name; this called Lobos de la Mar; and another, which is ſituated to the northward of it, very much reſembling it in ſhape and appearance; and often miſtaken for it, called Lobos de Tierre. We were now drawing near to the ſtation appointed to the Glouceſter; for which reaſon, fearing to miſs her, we made an eaſy ſail all night. The next morning at day-break, we ſaw a ſhip in ſhore, and to windward, plying up the coaſt: ſhe had paſſed by

us

us with the favour of the night, and we ſoon perceiving her not to be the Glouceſter, got our tacks on board, and gave her chace; but it proving very little wind, ſo that neither of us could make much way, the commodore ordered his barge, his pinnace, and the Tryal's pinnace to be manned and armed, and to purſue the chace, and board her. Lieutenant Brett, who commanded the barge, came up with her firſt, about nine o'clock, and running alongſide of her, he fired a volley of ſmall ſhot between the maſts, juſt over the heads of the people on board, and then inſtantly entered with the greateſt part of his men; but the enemy made no reſiſtance, being ſufficiently frightened by the dazzling of the cutlaſſes, and the volley they had juſt received. Lieutenant Brett ordered the ſails to be trimmed, and bore down to the commodore, taking up in his way the two pinnaces. When he was got within about four miles of us, he put off in the barge, bringing with him a number of the priſoners, who had given him ſome material intelligence, which he was deſirous the commodore ſhould be acquainted with as ſoon as poſſible. On his arrival we learnt, that the prize was called Neuſtra Senora del Carmin, of about two hundred and ſeventy tons burthen; ſhe was commanded by Marcos Morena, a native of Venice, and had on board forty-three marines: ſhe was deep laden with ſteel, iron, pepper, cedar, planks, ſnuffs, roſaries, European bale goods, powder blue, cinnamon, Romiſh indulgencies, and other ſpecies of merchandizes: and though this cargoe, in our preſent circumſtances, was but of little value to us, yet with reſpect to the Spaniards, it was the moſt conſiderable capture we made in this part of the world; for it amounted to upwards of 400,000 dollars prime coſt, at Panama. This ſhip was bound to Callao, and had ſtopped at Paita in her paſſage, to take in a recruit of water and proviſions, having left that place not above twenty-four hours, before ſhe fell into our hands.

I have mentioned that Mr. Brett had received ſome important intelligence. The firſt perſon he learnt it from was one John Williams an Iriſhman, whom he found on board the Spaniſh veſſel. Williams was a papiſt, who worked his paſſage from Cadiz, and had travelled all over the kingdom of Mexico as a pedlar: he pretended, that by this buſineſs he had once got 4 or 5000 dollars; but that he was embarraſſed by the prieſts, who knew he had money, and was at laſt ſtript of every thing he had. He was indeed at preſent all in rags, being but juſt got out of Paita gaol, where he had been confined for ſome miſdemeanor; he expreſſed great joy upon ſeeing his countrymen, and immediately told them, that, a few days before, a veſſel came into Paita, where the maſter of her informed the governor, that he had been chaſed in the offing by a very large ſhip, which from her ſize, and the colour of her ſails, he was perſuaded muſt be one of the Engliſh ſquadron: this we then conjectured to have been the Glouceſter, as we afterward found. The governor, upon examining the maſter, was fully ſatisfied of his relation, and immediately ſent away an expreſs to Lima to acquaint the viceroy therewith: and the royal officer reſiding at Paita, apprehenſive of a viſit from the Engliſh, had, from his firſt hearing of this news, been buſily employed in removing the king's treaſure and his own to Piura, a town within land, about fourteen leagues diſtant. We further learnt from our priſoners, that there was a very conſiderable ſum of money belonging to ſome merchants of Lima, now lodged in the cuſtom-houſe at Paita: and that this was intended to be ſhipped on board a veſſel, then in the port of Paita, and was preparing to ſail with the utmoſt expedition, being bound for the bay of Sonſonnate, on the coaſt of Mexico, in order to purchaſe a part of the cargo of the Manilla ſhip. As the veſſel in which the money was to be ſhipped was eſteemed a prime

ſailer,

ſailer, had juſt received a new coat of tallow on her bottom; and might, in the opinion of the priſoners, be able to ſail the ſucceeding morning; the character they gave of her, left us little reaſon to believe that our ſhip, which had been in the water near two years, could have any chance of coming up with her, if we once ſuffered her to eſcape out of the port. Therefore, as we were now diſcovered, and the coaſt would be ſoon alarmed, and as our cruiſing in theſe parts any longer would anſwer no purpoſe; the commodore reſolved to endeavour to ſurprize the place, having firſt minutely informed himſelf of its ſtrength and condition, and being fully ſatisfied, that there was little danger of loſing many of our men in the attempt.

The town of Paita is ſituated in the latitude of 5° : 12′ ſouth, on a moſt barren ſoil: the extent of it but ſmall, containing in all leſs than two hundred families. The houſes are only ground-floors; the walls built of ſplit cane and mud, and the roofs thatched with leaves: theſe edifices, though extremely ſlight, are abundantly ſufficient for a climate, where rain is conſidered as a prodigy, and is not ſeen in many years: ſo that it is ſaid, a ſmall quantity of rain falling in this country in the year 1728, ruined a great number of buildings, which mouldered away, and as it were melted before it. The inhabitants of Paita are principally Indians and black ſlaves, or at leaſt a mixed breed, the whites being very few. The port of Paita, though in reality little more than a bay, is eſteem the beſt on that part of the coaſt; and is indeed a very ſecure and commodious anchorage. It is greatly frequently by all veſſels coming from the north; ſince here only the ſhips from Acapulco, Sonſonnate, Realeijo and Panama, can touch and refreſh in their paſſage to Callao: and the length of theſe voyages (the wind for the greateſt part of the year being full againſt them) renders it impoſſible to perform them without calling upon the coaſt

coaſt for a recruit of freſh water. It is true Paita is ſituated on ſo parched a ſpot, that it does not itſelf furniſh a drop of freſh water, or any kind of greens or proviſions, except fiſh and a few goats: but there is an Indian town called Colan, about two or three leagues diſtant to the northward, from whence water, maize, greens, fowls, &c. are conveyed to Paita on balzas or floats, for the conveniency of the ſhips that touch here; and cattle are ſometimes brought from Piura, a town which lies about fourteen leagues up in the country. This port of Paita, beſides furniſhing the northern trade bound to Callao, with water and neceſſaries, is the uſual place where paſſengers from Acapulco or Panama, bound to Lima, diſembark; for, as it is two hundred leagues from hence to Callao, the port of Lima, and as the wind is generally contrary, the paſſage by ſea is very tedious and fatiguing, but by land there is a tolerable good road parallel to the coaſt, with many ſtations and villages for the accommodation of travellers.

Mr. Anſon having informed himſelf of the ſtrength of the place, reſolved to attempt it that very night. We were then about twelve leagues diſtant from the ſhore, far enough to prevent our being diſcovered; yet not ſo far, but that by making all the ſail we could, we might arrive in the bay with our ſhips long before day-break: however, the commodore prudently conſidered, that this would be an improper method of proceeding, as our ſhips, being ſuch large bodies, might be eaſily ſeen at a diſtance, even in the night, and might thereby alarm the inhabitants, and give them an opportunity of removing their valuable effects. He therefore, as the ſtrength of the place did not require our whole force, reſolved to attempt it with our boats only, ordering the eighteen oared barge, our own and the Tryal's pinnaces on that ſervice; and having picked our fifty-eight men to man them, well furniſhed with arms and ammunition, he intruſted the command of the expedition

to

to lieutenant Brett. And the better to prevent the diſappointment and confuſion which might ariſe from the darkneſs of the night, and from the ignorance of the ſtreets and paſſages of the place, two of the Spaniſh pilots were ordered to attend the lieutenant; and that we might have the greater ſecurity for their behaviour on this occaſion, the commodore took care to aſſure our priſoners, that they ſhould all of them be releaſed, and ſet on ſhore at this place, provided the pilots acted faithfully; but in caſe of any miſconduct or treachery, he threatened that the pilots ſhould be inſtantly ſhot, and that he would carry the reſt of the Spaniards, who were on board him, priſoners to England.

On this occaſion I cannot but remark a ſingular circumſtance of one of the pilots employed by us in this buſineſs. It ſeems, as we afterward learnt, he had been taken by captain Clipperton above twenty years before, and had been obliged to lead Clipperton and his people to the ſurprize of Truxillo, a town within land to the ſouthward of Paita, where however he contrived to alarm his countrymen, and to ſave them, though the place was carried and pillaged. Now that the only two attempts on ſhore, which were made at ſo long an interval from each other, ſhould be guided by the ſame perſon, and he too a priſoner both times, and forced upon the employ contrary to his inclination, is an accident very extraordinary. But to return to the matter in hand.

During our preparations, the ſhips themſelves ſtood toward the port with all the ſail they could make, being ſecure that we were yet at too great a diſtance to be ſeen. But about ten o'clock at night, the ſhips being then within five leagues of the place, lieutenant Brett, with the boats under his command, put off, and arrived at the mouth of the bay without being diſcovered; though no ſooner had he entered it, than ſome of the people, on board a veſſel riding

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at anchor there, perceived him, who inſtantly getting into their boat, rowed towards the fort, ſhouting and crying, THE ENGLISH, THE ENGLISH DOGS, &c. by which the whole town was ſuddenly alarmed, and our people ſoon obſerved ſeveral lights hurrying backwards and forwards in the fort, and other marks of the inhabitants being in great motion. Lieutenant Brett, on this, encouraged his men to pull briſkly up, that they might give the enemy as little time as poſſible. However, before our boats could reach the ſhore, the people in the fort had got ready ſome of their cannon, and pointed them towards the landing-place; and though in the darkneſs of the night it might be well ſuppoſed that chance had a greater ſhare than ſkill in their direction, yet the firſt ſhot paſſed extremely near one of the boats, whiſtling juſt over the heads of the crew. This made our people redouble their efforts; ſo that they had reached the ſhore, and were in part diſembarked by the time the ſecond gun fired. As ſoon as our men landed, they were conducted by one of the Spaniſh pilots to the entrance of a narrow ſtreet, not above fifty yards diſtant from the beach, where they were covered from the fire of the fort; and being formed in the beſt manner the ſhortneſs of the time would allow, they immediately marched for the parade, which was a large ſquare at the end of this ſtreet, the fort being one ſide of the ſquare, and the governor's houſe another. The huzzas of this ſpirited detachment, joined with the noiſe of their drums, and favoured by the night, had augmented their numbers, in the opinion of the enemy, to at leaſt three hundred; by which perſuaſion the inhabitants were ſo greatly intimidated, that they were much more ſolicitous about the means of flight than reſiſtance: ſo that though upon entering the parade, our people received a volley from the merchants who owned the treaſure then in the town, and who, with a few others, had ranged themſelves in a gallery that ran round the

governor's

governor's houſe, yet that poſt was immediately abandoned upon the firſt fire made by our people, who were thereby left in quiet poſſeſſion of the parade.

On this ſucceſs lieutenant Brett divided his men into two parties, ordering one of them to ſurround the governor's houſe, and, if poſſible, to ſecure the governor, whilſt he himſelf at the head of the other marched to the fort, with an intent to force it. But, contrary to his expectation, he entered it without oppoſition; for the enemy, on his approach, abandoned it, and made their eſcape over the walls. By this means the whole place was maſtered in leſs than a quarter of an hour's time from the firſt landing, and with no other loſs than that of one man killed on the ſpot, and two wounded.

Lieutenant Brett, when he had thus far happily ſucceeded, placed a guard at the fort, and another at the governor's houſe, and appointed centinels at all the avenues of the town, both to prevent any ſurprize from the enemy, and to ſecure the effects in the place from being embezzled. This being done, his next care was to ſeize on the cuſtom-houſe, where the treaſure lay, and to examine if any of the inhabitants remained in the town, that he might know what farther precautions it was neceſſary to take; but he ſoon found that the numbers left behind were no ways formidable: for the greateſt part of them (being in bed when the place was ſurprized) had run away with ſo much precipitation, that they had not given themſelves time to put on their cloaths. In this general rout the governor was not the laſt to ſecure himſelf, for he fled betimes half naked, leaving his wife, a young lady of about ſeventeen years of age, to whom he had been married but three or four days, behind him; though ſhe too was afterward carried off in her ſhift by a couple of centinels, juſt as the detachment, ordered to inveſt the houſe, arrived before it. This eſcape of the gover-

nor was an unpleaſing circumſtance, as Mr. Anſon had particularly recommended it to lieutenant Brett to ſecure his perſon, if poſſible; in hopes that by that means we might be able to treat for the ranſom of the place: but it ſeems his alertneſs rendered the execution of theſe orders impracticable. The few inhabitants who remained were confined in one of the churches under a guard, except ſome ſtout negroes which were found in the town; theſe, inſtead of being ſhut up, were employed the remaining part of the night to aſſiſt in carrying the treaſure from the cuſtom-houſe and other places to the fort: however, there was care taken that they ſhould be always attended with a file of muſqueteers.

The tranſporting the treaſure from the cuſtom-houſe to the fort, was the principal occupation of Mr. Brett's people, after he had got poſſeſſion of the place. But the ſailors, while they were thus buſied, could not be prevented from entering the houſes which lay near them, in ſearch of private pillage: where the firſt things which occurred to them, being the cloaths that the Spaniards in their flight had left behind, and which, according to the cuſtom of the country, were moſt of them either embroidered or laced; our people eagerly embraced theſe glittering habits, and put them on over their own dirty trowſers and jackets; not forgetting at the ſame time, the tye or bag-wig and laced hat, which were generally found with the cloaths; and when this practice was once begun, there was no preventing the whole detachment from imitating it. But thoſe, who came lateſt into the faſhion, not finding men's cloaths ſufficient to equip themſelves, were obliged to take up with women's gowns and petticoats, which (provided there was finery enough) they made no ſcruple of putting on, and blending with their own greaſy dreſs. So that when a party of them thus ridiculouſly metamorphoſed firſt appeared before Mr. Brett, he was extremely ſurprized at the groteſque ſight,

and

and could not immediately be ſatisfied they were his own people.

Theſe were the tranſactions of our detachment on ſhore at Paita the firſt night: but to return to what was done on board the Centurion in that interval. After the boats were gone off, we lay by till one o'clock in the morning, and then ſuppoſing our detachment to be near landing, we made an eaſy ſail for the bay. About ſeven in the morning we began to open the bay, and ſoon after had a view of the town: and though we had no reaſon to doubt of the ſucceſs of the enterprize, yet it was with great joy that we firſt diſcovered, by means of our perſpectives, an Engliſh flag hoiſted on the flag-ſtaff of the fort, which to us was an inconteſtable proof that our people was in poſſeſſion of the place. We plied into the bay with as much expedition as the wind, which then blew off ſhore, would permit us: and at eleven, the Tryal's boat came on board us, loaden with dollars and church-plate; when the officer who commanded her informed us of the preceding night's tranſactions, as we have already related them. About two in the afternoon we anchored in ten fathom and a half at a mile and a half diſtance from the town, and were conſequently near enough to have a more immediate intercourſe with thoſe on ſhore. And now we found that Mr. Brett had hitherto gone on in collecting and removing the treaſure without interruption: but that the enemy had rendezvouſed from all parts of the country on a hill, at the back of the town, where they made no inconſiderable appearance. For amongſt the reſt of their force there were two hundred horſe ſeemingly very well armed and mounted, and, as we conceived, properly trained and regimented; being furniſhed with trumpets, drums, and ſtandards. Theſe troops paraded about the hill with great oſtentation, ſounding their military muſic, and practiſing every art to intimidate us, in hopes that we might be induced to abandon the place before the pillage was

compleated. But we were not ſo ignorant as to believe, that this body of horſe, which ſeemed to be what the enemy principally depended on, would dare to venture in ſtreets and amongſt houſes, even had their numbers been three times as large; and therefore, notwithſtanding their menaces, we went on calmly, as long as the day-light laſted, in ſending off the treaſure, and in employing the boats to carry on board refreſhments, ſuch as hogs, fowls, &c. which we found here in great abundance. However, at night, to prevent any ſurprize, the commodore ſent on ſhore a reinforcement, who poſted themſelves in all the paſſages leading to the parade; and for their further ſecurity, traverſed the ſtreets with barricadoes ſix feet high: but the enemy continuing quiet all night, we, at day-break, returned again to our labour of loading the boats, and ſending them off.

By this time we were convinced of what conſequence it would have been to us, had fortune ſeconded the prudent views of the commodore, by permitting us to have ſecured the governor. For as we found in the place many ſtore-houſes full of valuable effects, which were uſeleſs to us at preſent, and ſuch as we could not find room for on board: had the governor been in our power, he would, in all probability, have treated for the ranſom of this merchandize, which would have been extremely advantageous both to him and us: whereas, he being now at liberty, and having collected all the force of the country for many leagues round, and having even got a body of militia from Piura, which was fourteen leagues diſtant; he was ſo far elated with his numbers, and ſo fond of his new military command, that he ſeemed not to trouble himſelf much about the fate of his government. So that though Mr. Anſon ſent ſeveral meſſages to him by ſome of the inhabitants, whom he had taken priſoners, offering to enter into a treaty for the ranſom of the town and goods, giving him, at the ſame time, an intimation

mation that we ſhould be far from inſiſting on a rigorous equivalent; and threatning too, that if he would not condeſcend to treat, we would ſet fire to the town, and all the ware-houſes: yet the governor was ſo imprudent and arrogant, that he did not deign even to return the leaſt anſwer to them.

On the ſecond day of our being in poſſeſſion of the place, ſeveral negroe ſlaves deſerted from the enemy on the hill, and coming into the town, voluntarily engaged in our ſervice: one of theſe was well known to a gentleman on board, who remembered him formerly at Panama. We now learnt that the Spaniards without the town were in extreme want of water, for many of their ſlaves crept into the place by ſtealth, and carried away ſeveral jars of water to their maſters on the hill: and though ſome of them were ſeized by our men in the attempt, yet the thirſt among the enemy was ſo preſſing, that they continued this practice till we left the place. On this ſecond day we were aſſured, both by the deſerters and by theſe priſoners we took, that the Spaniards on the hill, who were by this time increaſed to a formidable number, had reſolved to ſtorm the town and fort the ſucceeding night; and that one Gordon, a Scots papiſt, and captain of a ſhip in thoſe ſeas, was to have the command of this enterprize. However, we, notwithſtanding, continued ſending off our boats, and proſecuted our work without the leaſt hurry or precipitation till the evening; when a reinforcement was again ſent on ſhore by the commodore, and lieutenant Brett doubled his guards at each of the barricadoes: and our poſts being connected by the means of centinels placed within call of each other, and the whole being viſited by frequent rounds, attended with a drum; theſe marks of our vigilance, and of our readineſs to receive them, cooled their reſolution, and made them forget the vaunts of the preceding day; ſo that we paſſed this ſecond

night with as little moleſtation as we had done the former.

We had finiſhed ſending the treaſure on board the Centurion the evening before; ſo that the third morning, being the 15th of November, the boats were employed in carrying off the moſt valuable part of the effects that remained in the town. And the commodore intending to ſail in the afternoon, he, about ten o'clock, purſuant to his promiſe, ſent all his priſoners, amounting to eighty-eight, on ſhore, giving orders to lieutenant Brett to ſecure them in one of the churches under a ſtrict guard, till the men were ready to be embarked. Mr. Brett was at the ſame time ordered to burn the whole town, except the two churches (which by good fortune ſtood at ſome diſtance from the houſes) and then he was to abandon the place, and to return on board. Theſe orders were punctually complied with; for Mr. Brett immediately ſet his men to work, to diſtribute pitch, tar, and other combuſtibles, into houſes in different ſtreets of the town; ſo that, the place being fired in many quarters at the ſame time, the deſtruction might be more violent and ſudden; and the enemy, after our departure, not be able to extinguiſh it. When theſe preparations were made, he, in the next place, commanded the cannon, which he found in the fort, to be nailed up; and then ſetting fire to thoſe houſes which were moſt to the windward, he collected his men, and marched toward the beach, where the boats waited to carry them off. As that part of the beach whence he intended to embark was an open place without the town, the Spaniards on the hill perceiving he was retreating, reſolved to try if they could not precipitate his departure, and thereby lay ſome foundation for their future boaſting. To this end a ſmall ſquadron of their horſe, conſiſting of about ſixty, picked out, as I ſuppoſe, for this ſervice, marched down the hill with much ſeeming reſolution;

tion; ſo that, had we not entertained an adequate opinion of their proweſs, we might have imagined, that now we were on the open beach with no advantage of ſituation, they would certainly have charged us: but we preſumed (and we were not miſtaken) that this was mere oſtentation. For, notwithſtanding the pomp and parade they at firſt came on with, Mr. Brett no ſooner ordered his men to halt and face about, than the enemy ſtopped and dared not to advance a ſtep further.

When our people were arrived at their boats, and were ready to go on board, they were for ſome time retarded, by miſſing one of their number; and being unable, on their mutual enquiries, to inform themſelves where he was left, or by what accident he was detained, they, after a conſiderable delay, reſolved to get into their boats, and to depart without him. But when the laſt man was actually embarked, and the boats were juſt putting off, they heard him calling to them to take him in: the place was by this time ſo thoroughly on fire, and the ſmoke covered the beach ſo effectually, that they could ſcarcely diſcover him, tho' they heard his voice. However, the lieutenant inſtantly ordered one of the boats to his relief, who found him up to the chin in water, for he had waded as far as he durſt, being extremely frightened with the apprehenſions of falling into the hands of an enraged enemy. On enquiring into the cauſe of his ſtaying behind, it was found that he had taken that morning too large a doſe of brandy, which had thrown him into ſo ſound a ſleep, that he did not awake till the fire came near enough to ſcorch him. He was ſtrangely amazed at firſt opening his eyes, to ſee the houſes all in a blaze on one ſide, and ſeveral Spaniards and Indians not far from him on the other. The greatneſs and ſuddenneſs of his fright inſtantly reduced him to a ſtate of ſobriety, and gave him ſufficient preſence of mind to puſh through the thickeſt of the ſmoke, as the likelieſt means to eſcape

the enemy; and making the beſt of his way to the beach, he ran as far into the water as he durſt, for he could not ſwim, before he ventured to look back.

It ought to be obſerved, to the honour of our people, that though there were great quantities of wine and ſpirituous liquors found in the place, yet this man was the only one who was known to have ſo far neglected his duty, as to get drunk. Indeed, their whole behaviour, while they were aſhore, was much more regular than could well have been expected from ſailors who had been ſo long confined to a ſhip: and though part of this prudent demeanor muſt doubtleſs be imputed to the diligence of their officers, and to the excellent diſcipline to which they had been conſtantly inured on board the commodore; yet it was no ſmall reputation to the men, that they ſhould generally refrain from indulging themſelves in thoſe liquors, which they found ready to their hands at almoſt every warehouſe.

By the time our people had helped their comrade out of the water, and were making the beſt of their way to the ſquadron, the flames had taken poſſeſſion of every part of the town, and had got ſuch hold, both by means of the combuſtibles that had been diſtributed for that purpoſe, and by the ſlightneſs of the materials of which the houſes were compoſed, and their aptitude to take fire; that it was ſufficiently apparent, no efforts of the enemy (though they flocked down in great numbers) could poſſibly put a ſtop to it, or prevent the entire deſtruction of the place, and all the merchandize contained therein.

Our detachment under lieutenant Brett having ſafely joined the ſquadron, the commodore prepared to leave the place the ſame evening. He found, when he firſt came into the bay, ſix veſſels of the enemy at anchor; one whereof was the ſhip, which, according to our intelligence, was to have ſailed with the treaſure to the coaſt of Mexico, and which, as we were perſuaded ſhe was a good ſailer, we reſolved to take

take with us: the others were two ſnows, a bark, and two row-gallies of thirty-ſix oars a-piece. Theſe laſt, as we were afterwards informed, with many others of the ſame kind built at divers ports, were intended to prevent our landing in the neighbourhood of Callao: for the Spaniards, on the firſt intelligence of our ſquadron and its force, expected that we would attempt the city of Lima. The commodore, having no occaſion for theſe other veſſels, had ordered the maſts of all five of them to be cut away at his firſt arrival; and on his leaving the place they were towed out of the harbour, ſcuttled, and ſunk: and the command of the remaining ſhip, called the Solidad, being given to Mr. Hughs the lieutenant of the Tryal, who had with him a crew of ten men to navigate her, the ſquadron, toward midnight, weighed anchor, and ſailed out of the bay, being at preſent augmented to ſix ſail; that is, the Centurion, and the Tryal's prize, together with the Carmelo, the Tereſa, the Carmin, and our laſt acquired veſſel the Solidad.

It has been already obſerved, that all the priſoners taken by us in our preceding prizes were here put on ſhore, and diſcharged; amongſt whom there were ſome perſons of conſiderable diſtinction, eſpecially a youth of about ſeventeen years of age, ſon of the vice-preſident of the council of Chili. As the barbarity of the buccaneers, and the artful uſe the eccleſiaſtics had made of it, had filled the natives of thoſe countries with the moſt terrible ideas of Engliſh cruelty; we always found our priſoners, at their firſt coming on board us, to be extremely dejected, and under great horror and anxiety. Particularly this youth, who having never been from home before, lamented his captivity in the moſt moving manner, regretting in very plaintive terms, his parents, his brothers, his ſiſters, and his native country; of all which he was fully perſuaded he had taken his laſt farewel: believing that he was now devoted, for the

the remaining part of his life, to an abject and cruel ſervitude. Indeed his companions on board, and all the Spaniards that came into our power, had the ſame deſponding opinion of their ſituation. Mr. Anſon conſtantly exerted his utmoſt endeavours to efface theſe terrifying impreſſions they had received of us; always taking care, that as many of the principal people among them as there were room for, ſhould dine at his table by turns; and giving the ſtricteſt orders too, that they ſhould at all times, and in every circumſtance, be treated with the utmoſt decency and humanity. But notwithſtanding this precaution, it was generally obſerved, that the firſt day or two they did not quit their fears, ſuſpecting the gentleneſs of their uſage to be only preparatory to ſome unthought-of calamity. However, being at length convinced of our ſincerity, they grew perfectly eaſy in their ſituation, and remarkably chearful; ſo that it was often diſputable, whether or no they conſidered their being detained by us as a misfortune. For the youth abovementioned, who was near two months on board us, had taken ſuch an affection to Mr. Anſon, and ſeemed ſo much pleaſed with a manner of life, totally different from all he had ever ſeen before; that it is doubtful whether, if his own opinion had been aſked, he would not have preferred a voyage to England in the Centurion, to the being ſet on ſhore at Paita, where he was at liberty to return to his country and friends.

This uniform conduct of the commodore to his priſoners gave them all the higheſt idea of his humanity and benevolence, and induced them likewiſe to entertain very favourable thoughts of the whole Engliſh nation. But whatever they might be diſpoſed to think of Mr. Anſon before the capture of the Tereſa, their veneration for him was prodigiouſly increaſed by his conduct toward thoſe women, whom he took in that veſſel: for the leaving them in the poſſeſſion of their apartments, the ſtrict orders given to prevent

all

all his people on board from approaching them, and the permitting the pilot to ſtay with them as their guardian, were meaſures that ſeemed ſo different from what might be expected from an enemy and an heretic; that the Spaniards on board, though they had themſelves experienced his beneficence, were ſurprized at this new inſtance of it, and the more ſo, as all this was done without his ever ſeeing the women, though the two daughters were both eſteemed handſome, and the youngeſt was celebrated for her uncommon beauty. The women themſelves too were ſo ſenſible of the obligations they owed him, for the care and attention with which he had protected them, that they abſolutely refuſed to go on ſhore at Paita, till they had been permitted to wait on him on board the Centurion, to return him thanks in perſon. Indeed, all the priſoners left us with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their grateful remembrance of his uncommon treatment. A jeſuit in particular, whom the commodore had taken, and who was an eccleſiaſtic of ſome diſtinction, could not help expreſſing himſelf with great thankfulneſs for the civilities he and his countrymen had found on board, declaring, that he ſhould conſider it as his duty to do Mr. Anſon juſtice at all times. He added, that his uſage of the men priſoners was ſuch as could never be forgot, and ſuch as he could never fail to acknowlege and recite upon all occaſions: but that his behaviour to the women was ſo extraordinary, and ſo extremely honourable, that he doubted all the regard due to his own eccleſiaſtical character, would be ſcarcely ſufficient to render it credible. Indeed we were afterward informed, that he and the reſt of our priſoners had not been ſilent on this head; but had, both at Lima and at other places, given the greateſt encomiums to our commodore; the jeſuit in particular, as we were told, having, on his account, interpreted in a lax and hypothetical ſenſe that article of his church, which aſſerts the impoſſibility of heretics being ſaved.

When

When we got under ſail from the coaſt of Paita, we ſtood to the weſtward, and in the morning the commodore gave orders, that the whole ſquadron ſhould ſpread themſelves, to look out for the Glouceſter. For as we then drew near the ſtation where captain Mitchel had been directed to cruiſe, we hourly expected to get ſight of him; but the whole day paſſed without ſeeing him.

And now a jealouſy, which had taken its riſe at Paita, concerning the appropriation of the plunder, between thoſe who had been commanded on ſhore for the attack, and thoſe who had continued on board, grew to ſuch a height, that the commodore, being made acquainted with it, thought it neceſſary to interpoſe his authority to appeaſe it. Theſe conteſts amongſt our men, were carried on with great heat on both ſides: and though the plunder in queſtion was a very trifle, in compariſon of the treaſure taken in the place, yet as the obſtinacy of ſailors is not always regulated by the importance of the matter in diſpute, the commodore thought it neceſſary to put a ſtop to this ferment betimes. Accordingly, the morning after our leaving Paita, he ordered all hands upon the quarter-deck; where, addreſſing himſelf to thoſe who had been detached on ſhore, he commended their behaviour, and thanked them for their ſervices on that occaſion: but then repreſenting to them the reaſons urged, by thoſe who had continued on board, for an equal diſtribution of the plunder, which he ſaid he thought very concluſive; he therefore inſiſted, that not only the men, but all the officers likewiſe, who had been employed in taking the place ſhould produce the whole of their plunder immediately upon the quarter-deck; and that it ſhould be impartially divided amongſt the whole crew, in proportion to each man's rank and commiſſion: and to prevent thoſe who had been in poſſeſſion of the plunder from murmuring at this diminution of their ſhare, the commodore added, that as an encouragement

ment to others who might be hereafter employed on like ſervices, he would give his entire ſhare to be diſtributed amongſt thoſe who had been detached for the attack of the place. Thus this troubleſome affair, which, if permitted to have gone on, might perhaps have been attended with miſchievous conſequences, was by the commodore's prudence ſoon appeaſed, to the general ſatisfaction of the ſhip's company.

This important buſineſs employed the beſt part of the day, after we came from Paita. And now, at night, having no ſight of the Glouceſter, the commodore ordered the ſquadron to bring to, that we might not paſs her in the dark. The next morning we again looked out for her, at ten ſaw a ſail, to which we gave chace; and at two in the afternoon we came near enough to diſcover her to be the Glouceſter, with a ſmall veſſel in tow. About an hour after, we were joined by them; and then we learnt that captain Mitchel, in the whole time of his cruiſe, had only taken two prizes; one of them being a ſmall ſnow, whoſe cargo conſiſted chiefly of wine, brandy, and olives in jars, with about 7000 l. in ſpecie; and the other a large boat or launch, which the Glouceſter's barge came up with near the ſhore. The priſoners on board this laſt veſſel alleged, that they were very poor, and that their loading conſiſted only of cotton; though the circumſtances in which the barge ſurprized them, ſeemed to inſinuate that they were more opulent than they pretended to be: for the Glouceſter's people found them at dinner upon pigeon-pye, ſerved up in ſilver diſhes. However, the officer who commanded the barge having opened ſeveral of the jars on board, to ſatisfy his curioſity, and finding nothing in them but cotton, he was inclined to believe the account the priſoners gave him: but the cargo being taken on board the Glouceſter, and there examined more ſtrictly, they were agreeably ſurprized to find, that the whole was a very extraordinary piece of falſe package; and that there was concealed amongſt

amongſt the cotton, in every jar, a conſiderable quantity of double doubloons and dollars, to the amount on the whole of near 12,000l. This treaſure was going to Paita, and belonged to the ſame merchants who were the proprietors of the greateſt part of the money we had taken there: ſo that had this boat eſcaped the Glouceſter, it is probable her cargo would have fallen into our hands. Beſide theſe two prizes which we have mentioned, the Glouceſter's people told us, that they had been in ſight of two or three other ſhips of the enemy which had eſcaped them; and one of them, we had reaſon to believe from ſome of our intelligence, was of immenſe value.

Being now joined by the Glouceſter and her prize, it was reſolved that we ſhould ſtand to the northward, and make the beſt of our way either to Cape St. Lucas on California, or to Cape Corientes on the coaſt of Mexico. Indeed the commodore, when at Juan Fernandes, had determined with himſelf to touch in the neighbourhood of Panama, and to endeavour to get ſome correſpondence over-land with the fleet under the command of admiral Vernon. For when we departed from England, we left a large force at Portſmouth, which was intended to be ſent to the Weſt Indies, there to be employed in an expedition againſt ſome of the Spaniſh ſettlements. And Mr. Anſon taking it for granted, that this enterprize had ſucceeded, and that Porto Bello perhaps might be then garriſoned by Britiſh troops, he hoped, that on his arrival at the iſthmus, he ſhould eaſily procure an intercourſe with our countrymen on the other ſide. So that Mr. Anſon flattered himſelf, that he might by this means have received a reinforcement of men, and that by ſettling a prudent plan of operations with our commanders in the Weſt Indies, might have taken even Panama itſelf. This would have given to the Britiſh nation the poſſeſſion of that iſthmus, whereby we ſhould have been in effect maſters of all the treaſures of Peru, and ſhould have had

in our hands an equivalent for any demands, which we might have been induced to have made on either of the branches of the houſe of Bourbon.

Such were the projects which the commodore revolved in his thoughts at the iſland of Juan Fernandes, notwithſtanding the feeble condition to which he was then reduced. But in examining the papers which were found on board the Carmelo, the firſt prize we took, we learnt that our attempt againſt Carthagena had failed, and that there was no probability that our fleet, in that part of the world, would engage in any new enterprize, which would at all facilitate this plan.

The only feaſible meaſure which was then left us, was to ſteer as ſoon as poſſible to the ſouthern parts of California, or to the adjacent parts of Mexico, there to cruiſe for the Manilla galeon, which we knew was now at ſea, bound to the port of Acapulco; and we doubted not to get on that ſtation time enough to intercept her. This ſhip does not uſually arrive at Acapulco till toward the middle of January, and we were now but in the middle of November; and not conceiving that our paſſage thither would coſt us above a month or five weeks, we imagined we had near twice as much time as was neceſſary for our purpoſe. Indeed there was a buſineſs which we foreſaw would occaſion ſome delay, but we flattered ourſelves that it would be diſpatched in four or five days, and therefore could not interrupt our project. This was the recruiting of our water; for the number of priſoners we had entertained on board, ſince our leaving the iſland of Fernandes, had ſo far exhauſted our ſtock, that it was impoſſible to think of venturing upon this paſſage to the coaſt of Mexico, till we had procured a freſh ſupply: eſpecially as at Paita, where we had ſome hopes of getting a quantity, we did not find enough for our conſumption during our ſtay there. It was for ſome time a matter of deliberation, where we ſhould take in this neceſſary article; but

but by conſulting the accounts of former navigators, and examining our priſoners, we at laſt reſolved for the iſland of Quibo, ſituated at the mouth of the bay of Panama: nor was it but on good grounds that the commodore conceived this to be the propereſt place for watering the ſquadron. Indeed, there was a ſmall iſland called Cocos, which was leſs out of our way than Quibo, where ſome of the buccaneers have pretended to find water; but none of our priſoners knew any thing of it: and beſide, by going to Quibo we were not without hopes that ſome of the enemy's ſhips bound to or from Panama, might fall into our hands.

Determined therefore by theſe reaſons for Quibo, we directed our courſe northward, being eight ſail in company, and conſequently having the appearance of a very formidable fleet; and on the 19th, at day-break, we diſcovered Cape Blanco, bearing ſouth ſouth eaſt, one half eaſt, ſeven miles diſtant. This cape lies in the latitude of 40° 15′ ſouth, and is always made by ſhips bound either to windward or to leeward; ſo that off this cape is a moſt excellent ſtation to cruiſe upon the enemy. By this time we found that our laſt prize, the Solidad, was far from anſwering the character given her of a good ſailer; ſhe and the Santa Tereſa delaying us conſiderably. The commodore therefore commanded them both to be cleared of every thing that might prove uſeful to the reſt of the ſhips, and to be burnt: and having given proper inſtructions, and a rendezvous to the Glouceſter and the other prizes, we proceeded in our courſe for Quibo; and on the 22d in the morning, ſaw the iſland of Plata, bearing eaſt, diſtant about four leagues. At three in the afternoon point Manta bore ſouth eaſt by eaſt, ſeven miles diſtant; and there being a town of the ſame name in the neighbourhood, capt. Mitchel took this opportunity of ſending away ſeveral of his priſoners from the Glouceſter in the Spaniſh launch. The boats were now daily employed in diſtributing

proviſions on board our prizes, to complete their ſtock for ſix months: and that the Centurion might be the better prepared to give the Manilla ſhip a warm reception, the carpenters were ordered to fix eight ſtocks in the main and foretops, which were properly fitted for the mounting of ſwivel guns.

On the 25th we had a ſight of the iſland of Gallo, bearing eaſt ſouth eaſt and one half eaſt, four leagues diſtant; and from hence we croſſed the bay of Panama with a north weſt courſe, hoping that this would have carried us in a direct line to the iſland of Quibo. But we afterward found that we ought to have ſtood more to the weſtward; for the winds in a ſhort time began to incline to that quarter, and made it difficult to gain the iſland. After paſſing the equinoctial, (which we did on the 22d) and leaving the neighbourhood of the Cordilleras, and ſtanding more and more toward the iſthmus, where the communication of the atmoſphere to the eaſtward and the weſtward was no longer interrupted; we found in very few days an extraordinary alteration in the climate. For inſtead of that uniform temperature, where neither the exceſs of heat or cold was to be complained of, we had now for ſeveral days together cloſe and ſultry weather, reſembling what we had before met with on the coaſt of Braſil, and in other parts between the tropics on the eaſtern ſide of America. We had beſide frequent calms and heavy rains; which we at firſt aſcribed to the neighbourhood of the line, where this kind of weather is generally found to prevail at all ſeaſons of the year; but obſerving that it attended us to the latitude of ſeven degrees north, we were at length induced to believe, that the ſtormy ſeaſon, or, as the Spaniards call it, the vandevals, was not yet over.

On the 27th, captain Mitchel having finiſhed the clearing of his largeſt prize, ſhe was ſcuttled, and ſet on fire; but we ſtill conſiſted of five ſhips, and were fortunate enough to find them all good ſailers; ſo

that we never occaſioned any delay to each other. Being now in a rainy climate, which we had been long diſuſed to, we found it neceſſary to caulk the decks and ſides of the Centurion, to prevent the rain-water from running into her.

On the 3d of December we had a view of the iſland of Quibo; the eaſt end of which then bore from us north north weſt, four leagues diſtant, and the iſland of Quicaro weſt north weſt, about the ſame diſtance. Here we ſtruck ground ſixty-five fathom of line, the bottom of grey ſand, with black ſpecks. When we had thus got ſight of the land, we found the wind to hang weſterly; and therefore, night coming on, we thought it adviſeable to ſtand off till the morning, as there are ſaid to be ſome ſhoals in the entrance of the channel. But the wind ſtill proving unfavourable, we were obliged to ply on and off for the ſucceeding twenty-four hours, and were frequently taken aback. However, about three in the afternoon we entered the Canal Bueno, paſſing round a ſhoal which ſtretches off about two miles from the ſouth point of the iſland. This Canal Bueno, or Good Channel, is at leaſt ſix miles in breadth; and as we had the wind large, we kept in a good depth of water, generally from twenty-eight to thirty-three fathom, and came not within a mile and a half diſtance of the breakers: though, in all probability, if it had been neceſſary, we might have ventured much nearer, without incurring the leaſt danger. At ſeven in the evening we anchored in thirty-three fathom muddy ground; the ſouth point of the iſland bearing ſouth eaſt by eaſt, a remarkable high part of the iſland weſt by north, and the iſland Sebaco eaſt by north.

The next morning, after our anchoring, an officer was diſpatched on ſhore to diſcover the watering place, who having found it, returned before noon; and then we ſent the long-boat for a load of water, and at the ſame time we weighed and ſtood farther in with our ſhips. At two we came to an anchor in twenty-

twenty-two fathom, with a bottom of rough gravel intermixed with broken ſhells, the watering place now bearing from us north weſt one half north, only three quarters of a mile diſtant.

This iſland of Quibo is extremely convenient for wooding and watering; ſince the trees grow cloſe to the high-water mark, and a large rapid ſtream of freſh water runs over the ſandy beach into the ſea: ſo that we were little more than two days laying in all the wood and water we wanted. The whole iſland is of a very moderate height, excepting one part. It conſiſts of a continued wood ſpread all over the whole ſurface of the country, which preſerves its verdure the year round. Amongſt the other wood, we found there abundance of caſſia, and a few lime-trees. It appeared ſingular to us, that, conſidering the climate and the ſhelter, we ſhould ſee no other birds than parrots, parroquets, and mackaws; indeed of theſe laſt there were prodigious flights. Next to theſe birds, the animals we found in moſt plenty were monkeys and guanas, and theſe we frequently killed for food; for notwithſtanding there were many herds of deer upon the place, yet the difficulty of penetrating the woods prevented our coming near them; ſo that though we ſaw them often, we killed only two during our ſtay. Our priſoners aſſured us, that this iſland abounded with tigers; and we did once diſcover the print of a tiger's paw upon the beach, but the tigers themſelves we never ſaw. The Spaniards too informed us, that there was frequently found in the woods a moſt miſchievous ſerpent, called the flying ſnake, which they ſaid darted itſelf from the boughs of trees on either man or beaſt that came within its reach; and whoſe ſting they believed to be inevitable death. Beſide theſe dangerous land-animals, the ſea thereabout is infeſted with great numbers of alligators of an extraordinary ſize; and we often obſerved a large kind of flat-fiſh, jumping a conſiderable height out of the water, which we ſuppoſed to be the fiſh that is ſaid frequently to deſtroy the pearl di-

vers, by claſping them in its fins as they riſe from the bottom: and we were told that the divers, for their ſecurity, are now always armed with a ſharp knife, which, when they are entangled, they ſtick into the belly of the fiſh, and thereby diſengage themſelves from its embraces.

Whilſt the ſhip continued here at anchor, the commodore, attended by ſome of his officers, went in a boat to examine a bay which lay to the northward; and they afterwards ranged all along the eaſtern ſide of the iſland. And in the places where they put on ſhore in the courſe of this expedition, they generally found the ſoil to be extremely rich, and met with great plenty of excellent water. In particular near the north eaſt point of the iſland, they diſcovered a natural caſcade, which ſurpaſſed, as they conceived, every thing of this kind, which human art or induſtry hath hitherto produced. All the neighbourhood of this ſtream was a fine wood; and even the huge maſſes of rocks which overhung the water, and which, by their various projections, formed the inequalities of the channel, were covered with lofty foreſt trees. Whilſt the commodore, with thoſe accompanying him, were attentively viewing this place, and were remarking the different blendings of the water, the rocks, and the wood, there came in ſight, as it were ſtill to heighten and animate the proſpect, a prodigious flight of mackaws, which hovering over this ſpot, and often wheeling and playing on the wing about it, afforded a moſt brilliant appearance, by the glittering of the ſun on their variegated plumage: ſo that ſome of the ſpectators cannot refrain from a kind of tranſport, when they recount the complicated beauties which occurred in this extraordinary water-fall.

In this expedition, which the boat made along the eaſtern ſide of the iſland, though they diſcovered no inhabitants, yet they ſaw many huts upon the ſhore, and great heaps of ſhells of fine mother of pearl ſcattered up and down in different places: theſe were the remains left by the pearl-fiſhers from Panama,

who often frequent this place in the ſummer ſeaſon; for the pearl oyſters, which are to be met with every where in the bay of Panama, do ſo abound at Quibo, that by advancing a very little way into the ſea, you might ſtoop down and reach them from the bottom. They are uſually very large, and out of curioſity we opened ſome of them with a view of taſting them, but we found them extremely tough and unpalatable. And having mentioned theſe oyſters and the pearl fiſhery, I muſt beg leave to recite a few particulars relating to that ſubject.

The oyſters moſt productive of pearls are thoſe found in conſiderable depths; for though what are taken up by wading near ſhore, are of the ſame ſpecies, yet the pearls they contain are few in number and very ſmall. It is ſaid too, that the pearl partakes in ſome degree of the quality of the bottom on which the oyſter is lodged; ſo that if the bottom be muddy, the pearl is dark and ill coloured.

The taking up oyſters from great depths for the ſake of their pearls, is a work performed by negro ſlaves, of which the inhabitants of Panama and the neighbouring coaſt formerly kept vaſt numbers, which were carefully trained up to this buſineſs. Theſe are ſaid not to be eſteemed complete divers, till they have by degrees been able to protract their ſtay ſo long under water, that the blood guſhes out from their noſe, mouth, and ears: and it is the tradition of the country, that when this accident has once befallen them, they dive for the future with much greater facility than before; and they have no apprehenſion either that any inconvenience can attend it, the bleeding generally ſtopping of itſelf, or that there is any probability of their being ever ſubject to it a ſecond time. But to return from this digreſſion.

Though the pearl oyſter, as hath been ſaid, was incapable of being eaten, yet that defect was more than repaid by the turtle; a dainty which the ſea at this place furniſhed us with in the greateſt plenty and

perfection. There are generally reckoned four ſpecies of turtle; that is, the trunk turtle, the logger-head, the hawkſbill, and the green turtle. The two firſt are rank and unwholeſome; the hawkſbill (which affords the tortoiſe-ſhell) is but indifferent food, though better than the other two; but the green turtle is generally eſteemed, by the greateſt part of thoſe who are acquainted with its taſte, to be the moſt delicious of all eatables. At this iſland we caught what quantity we pleaſed with great facility; for as they are an amphibious animal, and get on ſhore to lay their eggs, which they generally depoſit in a large hole in the ſand, juſt above the high water-wark, covering them up, and leaving them to be hatched by the heat of the ſun, we uſually diſperſed ſeveral of our men along the beach, whoſe buſineſs it was to turn them on their backs when they came to land; and the turtle being thereby prevented from getting away, we brought them off at our leiſure. By this means we not only ſecured a ſufficient ſtock for the time we ſtayed on the iſland, but we carried a number of them with us to ſea, which proved of great ſervice both in lengthening out our ſtore of proviſion, and in heartening the whole crew with an almoſt conſtant ſupply of freſh and palatable food. For the turtles being large, they generally weighing about 200 l. weight each, thoſe we took with us laſted near a month: ſo that before our ſtore was ſpent, we met with a freſh recruit on the coaſt of Mexico, where in the heat of the day we often ſaw great numbers of them faſt aſleep, floating on the ſurface of the water. Upon diſcovering them, we uſually ſent out our boat with a man in the bow, who was a dexterous diver: and as the boat came within a few yards of the turtle, the diver plunged into the water, taking care to raiſe cloſe upon it, when ſeizing the ſhell near the tail, and preſſing down the hinder parts, the turtle was thereby awakened, and began to ſtrike with its claws, which motion ſupported both it and the diver till the boat came up and took them in.

By

By this management we never wanted turtle for the ſucceeding four months in which we continued at ſea. In the whole ſeven months, from our leaving Juan Fernandes to our anchoring in the harbour of Chequetan, we buried no more in the whole ſquadron than two men; a moſt inconteſtable proof that the turtle, on which we fed for the laſt four months of this term, was at leaſt innocent, if not ſomething more.

Conſidering the ſcarcity of other proviſions on ſome part of the coaſt of the South Seas, it appears wonderful that a ſpecies of food, ſo very palatable and ſalubrious as turtle, ſhould be proſcribed by the Spaniards as unwholeſome, and little leſs than poiſonous. Perhaps the ſtrange appearance of this animal may have been the foundation of this ſuperſtitious averſion, of which we had many inſtances during the courſe of this navigation. I have already obſerved, that we had taken in our prizes ſome Indian and negro ſlaves; we did not diſmiſs them with their maſters, but continued them on board, as our crews were thin, to aſſiſt in navigating our ſhips. Theſe poor people were aſtoniſhed at our feeding on turtle, and ſeemed fully perſuaded that it would ſoon deſtroy us: but finding that none of us ſuffered in our health by this diet, they at laſt got ſo far the better of their averſion, as to be perſuaded to taſte it, to which the abſence of all other kinds of freſh proviſions might not a little contribute. However, it was with great reluctance, and very ſparingly, that they firſt began to eat of it: but the reliſh improving upon them by degrees, they at laſt grew extremely fond of it, and preferred it to every other kind of food, and often felicitated each other on the happy experience they had acquired, and the luxurious and plentiful repaſts it would always be in their power to procure, when they ſhould again return back to their country. Thoſe who are acquainted with the manner of life of theſe unhappy wretches, need not be told, that next to large draughts of ſpi-

rituous liquors, plenty of tolerable food is the greateſt joy they know, and conſequently the diſcovering the means of being always ſupplied with what quantity they pleaſed, of a food more delicious to the palate than any their haughty lords and maſters could indulge in, was doubtleſs a circumſtance which they conſidered as the moſt fortunate that could befall them.

In three days time we had compleated our buſineſs at this place, and were extremely impatient to depart, that we might arrive time enough on the coaſt of Mexico, to intercept the Manilla galeon. But the wind being contrary, detained us a night; and the next day, when we got into the offing, which we did through the ſame channel by which we entered, we were obliged to keep hovering about the iſland, in hopes of getting ſight of the Glouceſter, who was ſeparated from us on our firſt arrival. It was the 9th of December, in the morning, when we put to ſea; continuing to the ſouthward of the iſland, looking out for the Glouceſter, we, on the 10th, at five in the afternoon, diſcerned a ſmall ſail to the northward of us, to which we gave chace, and coming up with her, took her. She proved to be a bark from Panama, called the Jeſu Nazareno. She had nothing on board but ſome oakum, about a ton of rock-ſalt, and between 30 and 40 l. in ſpecie, moſt of it conſiſting of ſmall ſilver money, intended for purchaſing a cargo of proviſions at Cheripe, an inconſiderable village on the continent.

And on occaſion of this prize I cannot but obſerve, for the uſe of future cruiſers, that, had we been in want of proviſions, we had, by this capture, an obvious method of ſupplying ourſelves. For at Cheripe there is a conſtant ſtore of proviſions prepared for the veſſels who go thither every week from Panama, the market of Panama being chiefly ſupplied from thence: ſo that by putting a few of our hands on board our prize, we might eaſily have ſeized a large

a large quantity without any hazard, ſince Cheripe is a place of no ſtrength. As proviſions are the ſtaple commodity of that place and of its neighbourhood, the knowlege of this circumſtance may be of great uſe to ſuch cruiſers as find their proviſions grow ſcant, and yet are deſirous of continuing on that coaſt.

On the 12th of December we were at laſt relieved from the perplexity we had ſuffered, occaſioned by the ſeparation of the Glouceſter; for on that day ſhe joined us, and informed us, that in tacking to the ſouthward, on our firſt arrival, ſhe had ſprung her fore-top-maſt, which had diſabled her from working to windward, and prevented her from joining us ſooner. And now we ſcuttled and ſunk the Jeſu Nazareno the prize we took laſt; and having the greateſt impatience to get into a proper ſtation for intercepting the Manilla galeon, we ſtood altogether to the weſtward, leaving the iſland of Quibo, notwithſtanding all the impediments we met with, about nine days after our firſt coming in ſight of it.

On the 12th of December we ſtood from Quibo to the weſtward, and the ſame day the commodore delivered freſh inſtructions, appointing the rendezvouſes, and the courſes to ſteer in caſe of a ſeparation. And firſt, the veſſels were directed to uſe all poſſible diſpatch in getting to the northward of the harbour of Acapulco, where they were to endeavour to fall in with the land, between the latitudes of 18 and 19 degrees; from thence to beat up the coaſt at eight or ten leagues diſtance from the ſhore, till they came a-breaſt of Cape Corientes, in the latitude of 20° 20′. After they arrived there, they were to continue cruiſing on that ſtation till the 14th of February, when they were to depart for the middle iſland of the Tres Marias, in the latitude of 21° 25′, bearing from Cape Corientes north-weſt by north twenty-five leagues diſtant. And if at this iſland they did not meet the Commodore, they were there

to

to recruit their wood and water, and then immediately to proceed for the iſland of Macao, on the coaſt of China. Theſe orders being diſtributed to all the ſhips, we had little doubt of arriving ſoon upon our intended ſtation; as we expected upon the increaſing our offing from Quibo, to fall in with the regular trade-wind. But, to our extreme vexation, we were baffled for near a month, either by tempeſtuous weather from the weſtern quarter, or by dead calms and heavy rains, attended with a ſultry air: ſo that it was the 25th of December before we ſaw the iſland of Cocos, which, according to our reckoning, was only a hundred leagues from the continent; and even then we had the mortification to make ſo little way, that we did not loſe ſight of it again in five days.

This iſland we found to be in the latitude of 5° 20′ north. It has a high hummock toward the weſtern part, which deſcends gradually, and at laſt terminates in a low point to the eaſtward. From the iſland of Cocos we ſtood weſt by north, and were till the 9th of January in running an hundred leagues more. We had at firſt flattered ourſelves, that the uncertain weather, and weſtern gales we met with, were owing to the neighbourhood of the continent; from which, as we got more diſtant, we expected every day to be relieved, by falling in with the eaſtern trade-wind: but as our hopes were ſo long baffled, and our patience quite exhauſted, we began at length to deſpair of ſucceeding in the great purpoſe in view, that of intercepting the Manilla galeon. This produced a general dejection amongſt us, as we had at firſt conſidered the project as almoſt infallible, and had indulged ourſelves in the moſt boundleſs hopes of the advantages we ſhould thence receive. However, our deſpondence was at laſt ſomewhat alleviated by a favourable change of the wind; for, on the 9th of January, a gale ſprung up the firſt time from the north-eaſt, and on this we took the Carmelo

melo in tow, as the Glouceſter did the Carmin, making all the ſail we could to improve the advantage, becauſe we ſtill ſuſpected that it was only a temporary gale which would not laſt long; though the next day we had the ſatisfaction to find that the wind did not only continue in the ſame quarter, but blew with ſo much briſkneſs and ſteadineſs that we no longer doubted of its being the true trade-wind. As we now advanced a-pace toward our ſtation, our hopes began again to revive, and our former deſpair by degrees gave place to more ſanguine prejudices; inſomuch that though the cuſtomary ſeaſon of the arrival of the galeon at Acapulco was already elapſed, yet we were by this time unreaſonable enough to flatter ourſelves that ſome accidental delay might, for our advantage, lengthen out her paſſage beyond its uſual limits.

When we got into the trade-wind, we found no alteration in it till the 17th of January, when we were advanced to the latitude of 12° 50′, but on that day it ſhifted to the weſtward of the north: this change we imputed to our having haled up too ſoon, though we then eſteemed ourſelves full ſeventy leagues from the coaſt; whence, and by our former experience, we were fully ſatisfied that the trade-wind doth not take place, but at a conſiderable diſtance from the continent. After this the wind was not ſo favourable to us as it had been: however, we ſtill continued to advance; and, on the 26th of January, being then to the northward of Acapulco, we tacked and ſtood to the eaſtward, with a view of making land.

When, on the 26th of January, we ſtood to the eaſtward, we expected by our reckonings to have fallen in with the land on the 28th; yet though the weather was perfectly clear, we had no ſight of it at ſun-ſet; and therefore we continued our courſe, not doubting but we ſhould ſee it by the next morning. About ten at night we diſcovered a light on the larboard-

board-bow, bearing from us north north-eaſt. The Tryal's prize too, who was about a mile a-head of us, made a ſignal at the ſame time for ſeeing a ſail: as we had none of us any doubt but what we ſaw was a ſhip's light, we were all extremely animated with a firm perſuaſion that it was the Manilla galeon, which had been ſo long the object of our wiſhes: and what added to our alacrity, was our expectation of meeting with two of them inſtead of one; for we took it for granted, that the light in view was carried in the top of one ſhip, for a direction to her conſort. We immediately caſt off the Carmelo, and preſſed forward with all our canvas, making a ſignal for the Glouceſter to do the ſame. Thus we chaſed the light, keeping all our hands at their reſpective quarters, under an expectation of engaging within half an hour. In this conſtant and eager attention we continued all night, always preſuming that another quarter of an hour would bring us up with this Manilla ſhip, whoſe wealth, and that of her ſuppoſed conſort, we now eſtimated by round millions. But when the morning broke, and day-light came on, we were moſt ſtrangely and vexatiouſly diſappointed, by finding that the light which had occaſioned all this buſtle and expectancy, was only a fire on the ſhore. It muſt be owned, the circumſtances of this deception were extraordinary; for, by our run during the night, and the diſtance of the land in the morning, there was no doubt to be made but this fire, when we firſt diſcovered it, was above twenty-five leagues from us; and yet, no perſon on board doubted of its being a ſhip's light, or of its being near at hand. It was indeed upon a very high mountain, and continued burning for ſeveral days afterwards; however, it was not a vulcano, but rather, perhaps, a tract of ſtubble or heath, ſet on fire for ſome purpoſe of agriculture.

At ſun-riſing, after this mortifying deluſion, we found ourſelves about nine leagues off the land, which

which extended from the north-weſt to eaſt, ½ north. On this land we obſerved two remarkable hummocks, ſuch as are uſually called paps, which bore north from us: theſe a Spaniſh pilot and two Indians, who were the only perſons amongſt us that pretended to have traded in this part of the world, affirmed to be over the harbour of Acapulco. Indeed, we very much doubted their knowlege of the coaſt; for we found theſe paps to be in the latitude of 17° 56′, whereas thoſe over Acapulco are ſaid to be 17 degrees only; and we afterwards found our ſuſpicions of their ſkill to be well grounded.

Being now in the track of the Manilla galeon, it was a great doubt with us, as it was near the end of January, whether ſhe was or was not arrived: but examining our priſoners about it, they aſſured us, that ſhe was ſometimes known to come in after the middle of February; and they endeavoured to perſuade us, that the fire we had ſeen on ſhore was a proof that ſhe was yet at ſea; it being cuſtomary, as they ſaid, to make uſe of theſe fires as ſignals for her direction, when ſhe continued longer out than ordinary. On this reaſoning of our priſoners, ſtrengthened by our propenſity to believe them in a matter which ſo pleaſingly flattered our wiſhes, we reſolved to cruiſe for her for ſome days; and we accordingly ſpread our ſhips at the diſtance of twelve leagues from the coaſt, in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible ſhe ſhould paſs us unobſerved. However, not ſeeing her ſoon, we were at intervals inclined to ſuſpect that ſhe had gained her port already; and as we now began to want a harbour to refreſh our people, the uncertainty of our preſent ſituation, gave us great uneaſineſs, and we were very ſolicitous to get ſome poſitive intelligence, which might either let us at liberty to conſult our neceſſities, if the galleon was arrived, or might animate us to continue our preſent cruiſe with chearfulneſs if ſhe was not. With this view the commodore, after examining our priſoners very particularly,

larly, reſolved to ſend a boat, under colour of the night, into the harbour of Acapulco, to ſee if the Manilla ſhip was there or not. To execute this enterprize, the barge was diſpatched the 6th of February, carrying a ſufficient crew and two officers. Our barge did not return to us again till the eleventh, when the officers acquainted Mr. Anſon, that, agreeable to our ſuſpicion, there was nothing like a harbour in the place where the Spaniſh pilots had at firſt aſſerted Acapulco to lie; that after they had ſatisfied themſelves in this particular, they ſteered to the eaſtward, in hopes of diſcovering it, and had coaſted along ſhore thirty-two leagues; that at the end of their run they could juſt diſcover two paps at a very great diſtance to the eaſtward, which from their appearance and their latitude they concluded to be thoſe in the neighbourhood of Acapulco. On this intelligence we all made ſail to the eaſtward, in order to get into the neighbourhood of that port; the commodore being determined to ſend the barge a ſecond time upon the ſame enterprize, when we were arrived within a moderate diſtance. Accordingly the next day, which was the 12th of February, we being by that time conſiderably advanced, the barge was again diſpatched, and particular inſtructions given to the officers to preſerve themſelves from being ſeen from the ſhore. On the 13th we eſpied a high land to the eaſtward, which was firſt imagined to be that over the harbour of Acapulco; but we afterwards found that it was the high land of Seguateneio, where there is a ſmall harbour, of which we ſhall have occaſion to make more ample mention hereafter. We waited ſix days, from the departure of our barge, without any news of her, ſo that we began to be uneaſy for her ſafety; but, on the 7th day, that is, on the 19th of February ſhe returned: when the officers informed the commodore, that they had diſcovered the harbour of Acapulco, which they eſteemed to bear from us eaſt ſouth-eaſt, at leaſt fifty leagues

diſtant: that on the 17th, about two in the morning, they were got within the iſland that lies at the mouth of the harbour, and yet neither the Spaniſh pilot, nor the Indian could give them any information where they then were; but that while they were lying upon their oars in ſuſpence what to do, being ignorant that they were then at the very place they ſought for, they diſcerned a ſmall light near the ſurface of the water, on which they inſtantly plied their paddles, and moving as ſilently as poſſible toward it, they found it to be in a fiſhing canoe, which they ſurprized, with three negroes that belonged to it. The officers further added, that they had immediately turned the canoe adrift againſt the face of a rock, where it would be inevitably daſhed to pieces by the fury of the ſea: this they did to deceive thoſe who perhaps might be ſent from the town to ſearch after the canoe; for upon ſeeing ſeveral remains of a wreck, they would immediately conclude that the people on board her had been drowned.

On examining theſe negroes, we found that we were indeed diſappointed in our expectation of intercepting the galleon before her arriving at Acapulco; but we learnt other circumſtances which ſtill revived our hopes, and which, we then conceived, would more than balance the opportunity we had already loſt: for though our negroe priſoners informed us, that the galleon arrived at Acapulco on our 9th of January, which was about twenty days before we fell in with this coaſt; yet they at the ſame time told us, that the galleon had delivered her cargo, and was taking in water and proviſions in order to return; and that the viceroy of Mexico had, by proclamation, fixed her departure from Acapulco to the 14th of March, N. S. This laſt news was moſt joyfully received by us, ſince we had no doubt but ſhe muſt certainly fall into our hands, and it was much more eligible to ſeize her on her return, than it would have been to have taken her before her arrival;

rival; as the ſpecie for which ſhe had ſold her cargo, and which ſhe would now have on board, would be prodigiouſly more to be eſteemed by us than the cargo itſelf; great part of which would have periſhed on our hands, and none of it could have been diſpoſed of by us at ſo advantageous a mart as Acapulco.

Thus we were a ſecond time engaged in an eager expectation of meeting with this Manilla ſhip, which, by the fame of its wealth, we had been taught to conſider as the moſt deſirable capture that was to be made on any part of the ocean. But ſince all our future projects will be in ſome ſort regulated with a view to the poſſeſſion of this celebrated galleon, and ſince the commerce which is carried on by means of theſe veſſels between the city of Manila and the port of Acapulco, is perhaps the moſt valuable, in proportion to its quantity, of any in the known world; I ſhall endeavour to give ſome account of the particulars relating thereto.

Though Spain did not acquire the property of any of the ſpice iſlands, yet the diſcovery of the Philippines, made by Magellan, was thought too conſiderable to be neglected; ſince theſe were not far diſtant from thoſe places which produced ſpices, and were very well ſituated for the Chineſe trade, and for the commerce of other parts of India. A communication therefore was ſoon eſtabliſhed, and carefully ſupported between theſe iſlands and the Spaniſh colonies on the coaſt of Peru: when the city of Manila, (which was built on the iſland of Luconia, the chief of the Philippines) became in a ſhort time the mart for all Indian commodities, which were bought up by the inhabitants, and were annually ſent to the South Seas, to be there vended on their account. The returns of this commerce to Manila being principally made in ſilver, the place by degrees grew extremely opulent, and its trade ſo far increaſed as to engage the attention of the court of Spain,

Spain, and to be frequently controlled and regulated by royal edicts.

In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on from the port of Callao to the city of Manila, in which navigation the trade-wind continually favoured them; ſo that notwithſtanding theſe places were diſtant between three and four thouſand leagues, yet the voyage was often made in little more than two months: but then the return from Manila was extremely troubleſome and tedious, and is ſaid to have ſometimes laſted above a twelvemonth; which, if they pretend to ply up within the limits of the trade-wind, is not at all to be wondered at. Indeed, though it is aſſerted, that in their firſt voyages they were ſo imprudent and unſkilful as to attempt this courſe; yet that route was ſoon laid aſide by the advice, as it is ſaid, of a Jeſuit; who perſuaded them to ſteer to the northward till they got clear of the trade-winds, and then by the favour of the weſterly winds, which generally prevail in high latitudes, to ſtretch away for the coaſt of California. This, we know, hath been the practice for at leaſt a hundred and ſixty years paſt; as Sir Thomas Cavendiſh, in the year 1586, engaged off the ſouth end of California, a veſſel bound from Manila to the American coaſt. And it was in compliance with this new plan of navigation, and to ſhorten the run both backwards and forwards, that the ſtaple of this commerce to and from Manila, was removed from Callao on the coaſt of Peru, to the port of Acapulco on the coaſt of Mexico, where it continues fixed to this time.

Such were the early regulations of this commerce; but its preſent condition being a much more intereſting ſubject, it will be proper to give a deſcription of the iſland of Luconia, and of the port and bay of Manila.

The iſland of Luconia, though ſituated in the latitude of 15° north, is eſteemed to be in general extremely healthy, and the water that is found upon

it is ſaid to be the beſt in the world: it produces all the fruits of the warm climates, and abounds in a moſt excellent breed of horſes, ſuppoſed to be carried thither firſt from Spain: it is very well ſeated for the Indian and Chineſe trade, and the bay and port of Manila, which lies on its weſtern ſide, is perhaps the moſt remarkable on the whole globe: the bay being a large circular baſon, near ten leagues in diameter, great part of it entirely land-locked. On the eaſt ſide of this bay ſtands the city of Manila, which is large and populous; and which, at the beginning of this war, was only an open place, its principal defence conſiſting in a ſmall fort, which was almoſt ſurrounded on every ſide by houſes; but they have lately made conſiderable additions to its fortifications *. The port, peculiar to the city, is called Cabite, and lies near two leagues to the ſouthward; and in this port all the ſhips employed for the Acapulco trade are uſually ſtationed.

The city of Manila itſelf is in a healthy ſituation, is well watered, and is in the neighbourhood of a very fruitful and plentiful country: but as the principal buſineſs of this place is its trade to Acapulco, it lies under ſome diſadvantage, from the difficulty there is in getting to ſea to the eaſtward; for the paſſage is among iſlands and through channels, where the Spaniards, by reaſon of their unſkilfulneſs in marine affairs, waſte much time, and are often in great danger.

The trade carried on from this place to China, and different parts of India, is principally for ſuch commodities as are intended to ſupply the kingdoms of Mexico and Peru. Theſe are ſpices, all ſorts of Chineſe ſilks and manufactures; particularly ſilk ſtockings, of which I have heard that no leſs than fifty thouſand pair were the uſual number ſhipped in each

* This city was taken by the Engliſh at the cloſe of the late war; and reſtored at the enſuing peace.

cargo;

cargo; vaſt quantities of Indian ſtuffs, as callicoes and chints, which are much worn in America, together with other minuter articles, as goldſmiths work, &c. which is principally wrought at the city of Manila itſelf by the Chineſe; for it is ſaid, there are at leaſt twenty thouſand Chineſe who conſtantly reſide there, either as ſervants, manufacturers, or brokers. All theſe different commodities are collected at Manila, thence to be tranſported annually in one or more ſhips to the port of Acapulco, in the kingdom of Mexico.

This trade to Acapulco is not laid open to all the inhabitants of Manila, but is confined by very particular regulations, ſomewhat analogous to thoſe by which the trade of the regiſter ſhips from Cadiz to the Weſt Indies is reſtrained. The ſhips employed herein are found by the king of Spain, who pays the officers and crew; and the tonnage is divided into a certain number of bales, all of the ſame ſize: theſe are diſtributed amongſt the convents at Manila, but principally to the jeſuits, as a donation to ſupport their miſſions, for the propagation of the catholic faith. The convents have thereby a right to embark ſuch a quantity of goods on board the Manila ſhip, as the tonnage of their bales amount to; or if they chuſe not to be concerned in trade themſelves, they have the power of ſelling this privilege to others: nor is it uncommon, when the merchant to whom they ſell their ſhare is unprovided of a ſtock, for the convents to lend him conſiderable ſums of money on bottomry.

The trade is, by the royal edicts, limited to a certain value, which the annual cargo ought not to exceed. Some Spaniſh manuſcripts mention this limitation to be 600,000 dollars; but the annual cargo does certainly ſurpaſs this ſum: and though it may be difficult to fix its exact value, yet, from many compariſons, the return cannot be much ſhort of three millions of dollars.

As it is ſufficiently obvious, that the greateſt ſhare of the treaſure returned from Acapulco to Manila does not remain in that place, but is again diſperſed into different parts of India; and as all European nations have generally eſteemed it good policy to keep their American ſettlements in an immediate dependence on their mother country, without permitting them to carry on directly any gainful traffic with other powers; theſe conſiderations have occaſioned many remonſtrances to be preſented to the court of Spain againſt this Indian trade, allowed to the kingdom of Mexico. Don Joſeph Patinho, who was formerly prime miniſter, and an enemy to the Jeſuits, about the year 1725, reſolved to aboliſh this trade, and to have permitted no Indian commodities to be introduced into any of the Spaniſh ports in the Weſt Indies, except ſuch as were brought thither by the regiſter ſhips from Europe. But the powerful intrigues of the Jeſuits prevented this regulation from taking place.

This trade from Manila to Acapulco, and back again, is uſually carried on in one, or at moſt two annual ſhips, which ſet ſail from Manila about July, and arrive at Acapulco on the December, January, or February following; and having there diſpoſed of their effects, return for Manila ſome time in March, where they generally arrive in June; ſo that the whole voyage takes up very near an entire year. For this reaſon, though there is often no more than one ſhip freighted at a time, yet there is always one ready for the ſea when the other arrives; and therefore the commerce at Manila is provided with three or four ſtout ſhips, that in caſe of any accident the trade may not be ſuſpended. The largeſt of theſe ſhips is deſcribed as little leſs than one of our firſt rate men of war; and indeed ſhe muſt be an enormous ſize, as it is known, that when ſhe was employed with other ſhips from the ſame port, to cruiſe for our China trade, ſhe had

had no leſs than twelve hundred men on board. Their other ſhips, though far inferior in bulk to this, are yet ſtout large veſſels, of the burthen of twelve hundred ton and upward; and uſually carry from three hundred and fifty, to ſix hundred hands, paſſengers included, with fifty odd guns. As theſe are all king's ſhips, commiſſioned and paid by him, there is uſually one amongſt the captains ſtiled general, and he carries the royal ſtandard of Spain at the main-top gallant-maſt-head, as we ſhall more particularly obſerve hereafter.

And now having deſcribed the city and port of Manila, and the ſhipping employed by its inhabitants, it is neceſſary to give a more circumſtantial detail of the navigation from thence to Acapulco. The ſhip having received her cargo on board, and being fitted for the ſea, generally weighs from the mole of Cabite about the middle of July, taking the advantage of the weſterly monſoon, which then ſets in. The getting through the channel called the Boccadero, to the eaſtward, is a troubleſome navigation, and in fact, it is ſometimes the end of Auguſt before they compleat it. When they have cleared this paſſage, and are diſentangled from the iſlands, they ſtand to the northward of the eaſt, till they arrive in the latitude of thirty degrees or upward, where they expect to meet with weſterly winds, before which they ſtretch away for the coaſt of California. It is indeed moſt remarkable, that by the concurrent teſtimony of all the Spaniſh navigators, there is not one port, nor even a tolerable road as yet found out betwixt the Philippine iſlands and the coaſt of California: ſo that from the time the Manila ſhip firſt loſes ſight of land, ſhe never lets go her anchor till ſhe arrives on the coaſt of California, and very often not till ſhe gets to its ſouthermoſt extremity. As this voyage is rarely of leſs than ſix months continuance, and the ſhip is deep laden with merchandize and crowded with people; it may ap-

pear wonderful how they can be ſupplied with a ſtock of freſh water for ſo long a time. The method of procuring it is indeed extremely ſingular, and deſerves a very particular recital.

It is well known to thoſe who are acquainted with the Spaniſh cuſtoms in the South Seas, that their water is preſerved on ſhipboard, not in caſks, but in earthen jars, which in ſome ſort reſemble the large oil jars we often ſee in Europe. When the Manila ſhip firſt puts to ſea, ſhe takes on board a much greater quantity of water than can be ſtowed between decks, and the jars which contain it are hung all about the ſhrouds and ſtays, ſo as to exhibit at a diſtance a very odd appearance. Though it is one convenience of their jars, that they are much more manageable than caſks, and are liable to no leakage, unleſs they are broken; yet it is ſufficiently obvious, that a ſix, or even a three month ſtore of water, could never be ſtowed in a ſhip ſo loaded, by any management whatever; and therefore without ſome other ſupply, this navigation could not be performed. A ſupply indeed they have, but the reliance upon it ſeems at firſt ſight ſo extremely precarious, that it is wonderful ſuch numbers ſhould riſque the periſhing by the moſt dreadful of all deaths, on the expectation of ſo caſual a relief. In ſhort, their only method of recruiting their water is by the rains, which they meet with between the latitudes of 30 and 40° north, and which they are always prepared to catch. For this purpoſe they take to ſea with them a great number of mats, which, whenever the rain deſcends, they range ſlopingly againſt the gunwale, from one end of the ſhip to the other, their lower edges reſting on a large ſplit bamboe; whence all the water which falls on the mats, drains into the bamboe, and by this, as a trough, is conveyed into a jar. And this method of furniſhing themſelves with water, however accidental and extraordinary it may at firſt ſight appear, hath never been known to fail them,

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but it hath been common for them, when their voyage is a little longer than uſual, to fill all their water-jars ſeveral times over.

However, though their diſtreſſes for freſh water are much ſhort of what might be expected in ſo tedious a navigation; yet there are other inconveniencies generally attendant upon a long continuance at ſea, from which they are not exempted. The principal of theſe is the ſcurvy, which ſometimes rages with extreme violence, and deſtroys great numbers of the people; but at other times their paſſage to Acapulco (of which alone I would be here underſtood to ſpeak) is performed with little loſs.

The length of time employed in this paſſage, ſo much beyond what uſually occurs in any other known navigation, is perhaps in part to be imputed to the indolence and unſkilfulneſs of the Spaniſh ſailors, and to an unneceſſary degree of caution, on pretence of the riches of the veſſel: for it is ſaid, that they rarely ſet their main-ſail in the night, and often lie by unneceſſarily. Thus much is certain, that the inſtructions given to their captains ſeem to have been drawn up by ſuch as were more apprehenſive of too ſtrong a gale, though favourable, than of the inconveniencies and mortality attending a lingering and tedious voyage. For the captain is particularly ordered to make his paſſage in the latitude of 30 degrees, if poſſible, and to be extremely careful to ſtand no farther to the northward than is abſolutely neceſſary for the getting a weſterly wind. This, according to our conceptions, appears to be a very abſurd reſtriction; ſince it can ſcarcely be doubted, but that in the higher latitudes the weſterly winds are much ſteadier and briſker than in the latitude of 30 degrees. Indeed the whole conduct of this navigation ſeems liable to very great cenſure. Since, if inſtead of ſteering eaſt north-eaſt, into the latitude of 30 degrees, they at firſt ſtood north-eaſt, or even ſtill more northerly, into the latitude of 40 or 45 de-

grees, in part of which coaſt the trade-winds would greatly aſſiſt them, I doubt not but by this management they might conſiderably contract their voyage, and perhaps perform it in half the time which is now allotted for it. This may in ſome meaſure be deduced from their own journals; ſince in thoſe I have ſeen, it appears, that they are often a month or ſix weeks after their laying the land, before they get into the latitude of 30 degrees; whereas with a more northerly courſe, it might eaſily be done in leſs than a fortnight. Now when they were once well advanced to the northward, the weſterly winds would ſoon blow them over to the coaſt of California, and they would be thereby freed from the other embaraſſments to which they are at preſent ſubjected, only at the expence of a rough ſea and a ſtiff gale. This is not merely matter of ſpeculation; for I am credibly informed, that about the year 1721, a French ſhip, by purſuing this courſe, ran from the coaſt of China to the valley of Vanderas on the coaſt of Mexico in leſs than fifty days.

However, to return to the actual occurrences of the preſent navigation. The Manila ſhip having ſtood ſo far to the northward as to meet with a weſterly wind, ſtretches away nearly in the ſame latitude for the coaſt of California: and when ſhe has run into the longitude of about 100 degrees from Cape Eſpiritu Santo, ſhe generally finds a plant floating on the ſea, which, being called Porra by the Spaniards, is, I preſume, a ſpecies of ſea-leek. On the ſight of this plant, they eſteem themſelves ſufficiently near the Californian ſhore, and immediately ſtand to the ſouthward, without endeavouring to approach the coaſt, till they have run into a lower latitude. However, when they draw near its ſouthern extremity, they venture to hale in, both for the ſake of making Cape St. Lucas to aſcertain their reckoning, and alſo to receive intelligence from the Indian inhabitants, whether or no there are any enemies

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on the coaſt: and this laſt circumſtance, which is a particular article in the captain's inſtructions, obliges us to mention the late proceedings of the Jeſuits among the Californian Indians.

Since the firſt diſcovery of California, there have been various wandering miſſionaries, who have viſited it at different times, though to little purpoſe: but of late years the Jeſuits, encouraged and ſupported by a large donation from the marquis de Valero, a moſt munificent bigot, have fixed themſelves upon the place, and have there eſtabliſhed a very conſiderable miſſion; and being thus occupied in advancing the intereſt of their ſociety, it is no wonder if ſome ſhare of attention is engaged about the ſecurity of the Manila ſhip, in which their convents at Manila are ſo deeply concerned. For this purpoſe there are refreſhments conſtantly kept in readineſs for her; and there is beſide care taken at Cape St. Lucas, to look out for any ſhip of the enemy which might be cruiſing there to intercept her, this being a ſtation where ſhe is conſtantly expected. The captain of the galeon is ordered to fall in with the land to the northward of Cape St. Lucas, where the inhabitants are directed, on ſight of the veſſel, to make the proper ſignals with fires. If the captain finds that he has nothing to fear, he is directed to proceed for Cape St. Lucas, and thence to Cape Corientes, after which he is to coaſt it along for the port of Acapulco.

The moſt uſual time of the arrival of the galeon at Acapulco is toward the middle of January: but this navigation is ſo uncertain, that it is ſometimes a month ſooner or later. The port of Acapulco is by much the ſecureſt and fineſt in all the northern part of the Pacific Ocean, being, as it were, a baſon ſurrounded by very high mountains: but the town is a moſt wretched place, and extremely unhealthy; for the air about it is ſo pent up by the hills, that it has ſcarcely any circulation. Acapulco is beſide deſtitute of freſh water, except what is brought from a con-

a conſiderable diſtance, and is in all reſpects ſo inconvenient, that, except while the Manila galeon is in the port, it is almoſt deſerted.

When the galeon arrives in this port, ſhe is generally moored on its weſtern ſide to two trees, and her cargo is delivered with all poſſible expedition. The cargo being landed and diſpoſed of, the ſilver and the goods intended for Manila, taken on board, together with proviſions and water, the ſhip puts to ſea with the utmoſt expedition: for it is an expreſs order to the captain to be out of the port of Acapulco on his return before the firſt day of April.

The galeon being fitted in order to her return, the captain, on leaving the port of Acapulco, ſteers for the latitude of 13° or 14°, and then continues on that parallel, till he gets ſight of the iſland of Guam, one of the Ladrones. In this run the captain is particularly directed to be careful of the ſhoals of St. Bartholomew, and of the iſland of Gaſparico. He is alſo told in his inſtructions, that to prevent his paſſing the Ladrones in the dark, through all the month of June, fires ſhall be lighted every night on the higheſt part of Guam and Rota.

At Guam there is a ſmall Spaniſh garriſon, (as will be more particularly mentioned hereafter) purpoſely intended to ſecure that place for the refreſhment of the galeon. However, the danger of the road at Guam is ſo great, that though the galeon is ordered to call there, yet ſhe rarely ſtays above a day or two, but ſteers away directly for Cape Eſpiritu Santo, on the iſland of Samal. Here the captain is again ordered to look out for ſignals, and more particular intelligence, purſuant to which, he is to regulate his conduct. If there is nothing to fear, he is to purſue his courſe without interruption, making the beſt of his way to the port of Cabite, which is the port to the city of Manila.

It has been already mentioned that our barge had ſurpriſed three negroe fiſhermen, which gave us inexpreſſible

expreſſible ſatisfaction; as we learnt from our priſoners, that the galeon was then preparing to put to ſea, and that her departure was fixed, by an edict of the viceroy of Mexico, to the 14th of March, N. S. that is, to the 3d of March, according to our reckoning at that time.

What related to this Manila ſhip being the matter to which we were moſt attentive, it was neceſſarily the firſt article of our examination; but having ſatisfied ourſelves on this head, we then indulged our curioſity in enquiring after other news; when the priſoners informed us, that they had received intelligence at Acapulco, of our having plundered and burnt the town of Paita; and that, on this occaſion, the governor of Acapulco had augmented the fortifications of the place, and had taken ſeveral precautions to prevent us from forcing our way into the harbour; that in particular, he had planted a guard on the iſland which lies at the harbour's mouth, and that this guard had been withdrawn but two nights before the arrival of our barge.

The withdrawing of this guard was a circumſtance that gave us much pleaſure, ſince it ſeemed to demonſtrate, not only that the enemy had not as yet diſcovered us, but likewiſe that they had now no farther apprehenſions of our viſiting their coaſt..

Satisfied therefore that we were undiſcovered, and that the day was fixed for the departure of the galeon from Acapulco, we made all neceſſary preparations, and waited with the utmoſt impatience for the important moment. During this interval we were employed in ſcrubbing and cleanſing our ſhips bottoms, and regulating the orders, ſignals, and poſitions to be obſerved when we ſhould arrive off Acapulco.

It was on the 1ſt of March we made the highlands, uſually called the paps, over Acapulco; and got with all poſſible expedition into the ſituation preſcribed by the commodore's orders. The diſtribution of our ſquadron on this occaſion, both for the intercepting the

the galeon, and for avoiding any diſcovery from the ſhore, was ſo very judicious that it well merits to be deſcribed. It was thus: the Centurion brought the paps over the harbour to bear north north-eaſt, at fifteen leagues diſtance, which was a ſufficient offing to prevent our being ſeen by the enemy. To the weſtward of the Centurion was ſtationed the Carmelo, and to the eaſtward the Trial's prize, the Glouceſter, and the Carmin: theſe were all ranged in a circular line, and each ſhip was three leagues diſtant from the next; ſo that the Carmelo and the Carmin, which were the two extremes, were twelve leagues removed from each other: and as the galleon could, without doubt, be diſcerned at ſix leagues diſtance from either extremity, the whole ſweep of our ſquadron, within which nothing could paſs undiſcovered, was at leaſt twenty-four leagues in extent; and yet we were ſo connected by our ſignals, as to be eaſily and ſpeedily informed of what was ſeen in any part of the line. To render this diſpoſition ſtill more compleat, and to prevent even the poſſibility of the galeon's eſcaping us in the night, the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and Glouceſter, were both manned and ſent in ſhore, and commanded to lie all day at the diſtance of four or five leagues from the entrance of the port, where they could not poſſibly be diſcovered; but in the night they were directed to ſtand nearer to the harbour's mouth.

Beſide the care taken to prevent the galeon from paſſing by us unobſerved, we had not been inattentive to the means of engaging her to advantage when we came up with her: for conſidering the thinneſs of our crews, and the vaunting accounts given by the Spaniards of her ſize and ſtrength, this was a conſideration not to be neglected. As we ſuppoſed that none of our ſhips but the Centurion and Glouceſter were capable of lying along ſide of her, we took on board the Centurion all the hands belonging to the Carmelo and Carmin, except what was juſt ſufficient

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to navigate thoſe ſhips; and captain Saunders was ordered to ſend from the Tryal's prize ten Engliſhmen, and as many negroes, to reinforce the crew of the Glouceſter. At the ſame time, for the encouragement of our negroes, of which we had a conſiderable number on board, we promiſed them, that on their good behaviour they ſhould have their freedom.

Being thus prepared for the reception of the galeon, we expected, with the utmoſt impatience, the often mentioned 3d of March, the day fixed for her departure. But, to our extreme vexation, both this day and the ſucceeding night paſſed over without any news of the galeon: however, we did not yet deſpair, but were all heartily diſpoſed to flatter ourſelves that ſome unforeſeen accident had intervened, which might have put off her departure for a few days; and ſuggeſtions of this kind occurred in plenty, as we knew that the time fixed by the viceroy for her ſailing, was often prolonged on the petition of the merchants of Mexico: and as the 7th of March was Sunday, the beginning of Paſſion-week, which is obſerved by the Papiſts with great ſtrictneſs, as a total ceſſation from all kinds of labour; ſo that no ſhip is permitted to ſtir out of port during the whole week; this quieted our apprehenſions for ſome time, and diſpoſed us not to expect the galeon till the week following. At length we began to fear that the enemy had, by ſome accident, diſcovered our being upon the coaſt, and had therefore laid an embargo on the galleon till the next year. And indeed this perſuaſion was but too well founded; for we afterward learnt that our barge, when ſent on the diſcovery of the port of Acapulco, had been ſeen from the ſhore; and that this circumſtance, no embarkations but canoes ever frequenting that coaſt, was to them a ſufficient proof of the neighbourhood of our ſquadron; on which they ſtopped the galeon till the ſucceeding year.

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The commodore himſelf, though he declared not his opinion, was yet in his own thoughts apprehenſive that we were diſcovered, and that the departure of the galeon was put off; and he had, in conſequence of this opinion, formed a plan for poſſeſſing himſelf of Acapulco; becauſe he had no doubt but the treaſure as yet remained in the town, even though the orders for the diſpatching of the galeon were countermanded.

But as this ſcheme was formed by the commodore, upon a matter of opinion only; he thought it prudent to continue cruiſing on his preſent ſtation, as long as the neceſſary attention to his ſtores of wood and water, and to the ſeaſon for his future paſſage to China, would give him leave. And therefore, as the cutters had been ordered to remain before Acapulco till the 23d of March, the ſquadron did not change its poſition till that day; when the cutters not appearing, we were in ſome pain for them, apprehending they might have ſuffered either from the enemy or the weather: but we were relieved from our concern the next morning, when we diſcovered them though at a great diſtance, and to the leeward of the ſquadron. We bore down to them, and took them up, and were informed by them, that, conformable to their orders, they had left their ſtation the day before, without having ſeen any thing of the galeon; and we found, that the reaſon of their being ſo far to the leeward of us, was a ſtrong current which had driven the whole ſquadron to windward.

By information which was afterward received, it appeared that this prolongation of our cruiſe afforded us no contemptible chance of ſeizing the treaſure on which we had ſo long fixed our thoughts. For after the embargo was laid on the galeon, the perſons intereſted in the cargo diſpatched ſeveral expreſſes to Mexico, to beg that ſhe might ſtill be permitted to depart: it ſeems they knew, by the accounts ſent from Paita, that we had not more than three hundred

hundred men in all, whence they inſiſted that there was nothing to be feared. And though the viceroy was inflexible, yet on the account of their repreſentation, ſhe was kept ready for the ſea near three weeks after the firſt order came to detain her.

When we had taken up the cutters, all the ſhips being joined, upon enquiry into our ſtock of freſh water, it was found to be ſo very ſlender, that we were under a neceſſity to procure a freſh ſupply. Conſulting what place was the propereſt for this purpoſe, it was agreed, that the harbour of Seguataneio or Chequetan being the neareſt, was, on that account, the moſt eligible; ſo that it was immediately reſolved to make the beſt of our way thither: but that, even while we were recruiting our water, we might not totally abandon our views upon the galeon, which perhaps, from intelligence of our being employed at Chequetan, might venture to ſlip out to ſea; our cutter, under the command of Mr. Hughes, the lieutenant of the Tryal's prize, was ordered to cruiſe off the port of Acapulco for twenty-four days; that if the galeon ſhould ſet ſail in that interval, we might be ſpeedily informed of it. By the 1ſt of April we were ſo far advanced towards Seguataneio, that we thought it expedient to ſend out two boats to diſcover the watering-place: they were gone ſome days, and our water being now very ſhort, it was a particular felicity to us that we met with daily ſupplies of turtle; for had we been entirely confined to ſalt proviſions, we muſt have ſuffered extremely in ſo warm a climate. Indeed we were apprehenſive of being ſoon expoſed to a calamity, the moſt terrible of any that occurs in the long diſheartening catalogue of the diſtreſſes of a ſea-faring life.

But theſe gloomy ſuggeſtions were at length happily ended: for our boats returned on the 5th of April, having, about ſeven miles to the weſtward of the rocks of Seguataneio, met with a place fit for our purpoſe; and which, by the deſcription they gave of it, appeared to be the port of Chequetan, men-

mentioned by Dampier; ſo that on the 7th we ſtood for it, and that evening came to an anchor in eleven fathom.

Thus, after a four months continuance at ſea from the leaving of Quibo, and having but ſix days water on board, we arrived in the harbour of Chequetan, which lies in the latitude of 17° 36′ north, and is about thirty leagues to the weſtward of Acapulco. It is eaſy to be diſcovered by any ſhip that will keep well in with the land, eſpecially by ſuch as range down the coaſt from Acapulco, and will attend to the following particulars.

There is a beach of ſand which extends eighteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco to the weſtward, againſt which the ſea breaks ſo violently, that with our boats it would be impoſſible to land on any part of it: but yet the ground is ſo clean, that during the fair ſeaſon, ſhips may anchor in great ſafety, at the diſtance of a mile or two from the ſhore. The land adjacent to this beach is generally low, full of villages, and planted with a great number of trees; and on the tops of ſome ſmall eminences there are ſeveral look-out towers; ſo that the face of the country affords a very agreeable proſpect. It is a moſt remarkable particularity, that in this whole extent, containing, in appearance, the moſt populous and beſt planted diſtrict of the whole coaſt, there ſhould be neither canoes, boats, nor any other embarkations, either for fiſhing, coaſting, or for pleaſure. This cannot be imputed to the difficulty of landing; becauſe in many parts of Africa and Aſia, where the ſame inconvenience occurs, the inhabitants have provided againſt it by veſſels of a peculiar fabric. It is therefore probable that the government, to prevent ſmuggling, has prohibited the uſe of all kinds of ſmall craft in that diſtrict.

The beach here deſcribed is the ſureſt guide to thoſe who are deſirous of finding the harbour of Chequetan; for five miles to the weſtward of the extremity of this beach there appears a hummock, which

at firſt makes like an iſland, and is in ſhape not very unlike the hill of Petaplan, hereafter mentioned, though much ſmaller. Three miles to the weſtward of this hummock, is a white rock near the ſhore, which cannot eaſily be paſſed by unobſerved: it is about two cables length from the land, and lies in a large bay about nine leagues over. The weſt point of this bay is the hill of Petaplan, which, like the forementioned hummock, may be at firſt miſtaken for an iſland, though it be, in reality, a peninſula, joined to the continent by a low narrow iſthmus. The bay of Seguataneio extends from this hill a great way to the weſtward; and at a ſmall diſtance from the hill, and oppoſite the entrance of the bay, there is an aſſemblage of rocks, which are white, from the excrements of boobies and tropical birds. Theſe rocks bear weſt by north from Petaplan; and about ſeven miles to the weſtward of them lies the harbour of Chequetan, which is ſtill more minutely diſtinguiſhed by a large and ſingle rock that riſes out of the water a mile and an half diſtant from the entrance, and bears ſouth $\frac{1}{2}$ weſt from the middle of it. It is to be added, that the coaſt is no ways to be dreaded between the middle of October and the beginning of May; though in the remaining part of the year there are frequent and violent tornadoes, heavy rains, and hard gales, in all directions of the compaſs.

The harbour is invironed on all ſides, except to the weſtward, with high mountains overſpread with trees. The paſſage into it is very ſafe on either ſide of the rock that lies off the mouth of it, though we, both in coming in and going out, left it to the eaſtward. The ground without the harbour is gravel mixed with ſtones, but within it is a ſoft mud: and it muſt be remembered, that in coming to an anchor a good allowance ſhould be made for a large ſwell, which frequently cauſes a great ſend of the ſea; as likewiſe, for the ebbing and flowing of the tide,

which we obſerved to be about five feet, and that it ſet nearly eaſt and weſt.

As the country hereabout appeared to be well peopled and cultivated, we hoped to have eaſily procured from thence ſome freſh proviſions, of which we now ſtood greatly in need. To facilitate theſe views the commodore, the morning after we came to an anchor, ordered a party of forty men, well armed, to march into the country, and to endeavour to diſcover ſome town or village, where they were to attempt to ſet on foot a correſpondence with the inhabitants. Our people were directed, on this occaſion, to proceed with the greateſt circumſpection, and to make as little oſtentation of hoſtility as poſſible; for we were ſenſible, we could find no wealth in theſe parts worth our notice. Toward evening, the party returned, greatly fatigued by their unuſual exerciſe, and ſome of them ſo far ſpent, that they were obliged to be brought back upon the ſhoulders of their companions. They had penetrated, as they conceived, about ten miles into the country, along a beaten track, where they often ſaw the freſh dung of horſes or mules; till the heat of the day increaſing, and finding no water to quench their thirſt, they were firſt obliged to halt, and then reſolved to return; for as they ſaw no ſigns of plantations or cultivated land, they had no reaſon to believe that there was any village or ſettlement near them. However, to leave no means untried of procuring ſome intercourſe with the people, the officers ſtuck up ſeveral poles in the road, to which were affixed declarations, written in Spaniſh, encouraging the inhabitants to come down to the harbour to traffic with us, giving them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a kind reception, and faithful payment for any proviſions they ſhould bring. This was doubtleſs a very prudent meaſure; yet it produced no effect.

After our unſucceſsful attempt to engage the people of the country to furniſh us with the neceſſaries

ceſſaries we wanted, we deſiſted from any more endeavours of the ſame nature, and were obliged to be contented with what we could procure for ourſelves in the neighbourhood of the port. We caught fiſh here in tolerable quantities; and here, and in no other place, met with that extraordinary fiſh called the torpedo, or numbing fiſh.

The animals we met with on ſhore were principally guanas, with which the country abounds, and which are by ſome reckoned delicious food. We ſaw no beaſt of prey here, except the alligator; ſeveral of which our people diſcovered, but none of them very large. However, we were ſatisfied that there were great numbers of tygers in the woods, though none of them came in ſight; for we every morning found the beach, near the watering-place, imprinted very thick with their footſteps: but we never apprehended any miſchief from them; ſince they are by no means ſo fierce as the Aſiatic or African tyger.

The fruits and vegetable refreſhments at this place were neither plentiful, nor of the beſt kinds: but yet, upon the whole, it muſt be owned to be a place of conſiderable conſequence, and that the knowlege of it may be of great import to future cruiſers. For except Acapulco, which is in the hands of the enemy, it is the only ſecure harbour in a vaſt extent of coaſt.

The next morning, after our coming to an anchor in the harbour of Chequetan, we ſent about ninety of our men well armed on ſhore; forty of whom were ordered to march into the country, as hath been mentioned, and the remaining fifty were employed to cover the watering-place, and to prevent any interruption from the natives.

Here we completed the unloading of the Carmelo and Carmin, which we had begun at ſea; here too it was agreed, after a mature conſultation, to deſtroy the Tryal's prize, as well as the Carmelo and Carmin, whoſe fate had been before reſolved on. Indeed

the Tryal's prize was in good repair, and fit for the ſea; but as the whole numbers on board our ſquadron did not amount to the complement of a fourth rate man of war, we found it was impoſſible to divide them into three ſhips, without rendering each of thoſe ſhips incapable of navigating in ſafety through the tempeſtuous weather we had reaſon to expect on the coaſt of China, where we ſuppoſed we ſhould arrive about the time of the change of the monſoons.

During our ſtay here, there happened an incident which, as it proved the means of convincing our friends in England of our ſafety, which for ſome time they had deſpaired of, and were then in doubt about, I ſhall beg leave particularly to recite. From this harbour of Chequetan there was but one path-way which led through the woods into the country. This we found much beaten, and we were thence convinced, that it was well known to the inhabitants. As it paſſed by the ſpring-head, and was the only avenue by which the Spaniards could approach us, we, at ſome diſtance beyond the ſpring-head, felled ſeveral large trees, and laid them one upon the other acroſs the path; and at this barricadoe we conſtantly kept a guard. This alſo anſwered another purpoſe, which was not in itſelf leſs important: which was to hinder our own people from ſtraggling ſingly into the country, where we had reaſon to believe they would be ſurpriſed by the Spaniards, who would doubtleſs be extremely ſollicitous to pick up ſome of them, in hopes of getting intelligence of our future deſigns. But notwithſtanding this precaution, we miſſed one Lewis Leger, who was the commodore's cook: as he was a Frenchman, and was ſuſpected to be a papiſt, it was at firſt imagined that he had deſerted, with a view of betraying all that he knew to the enemy; though this appeared, by the event, to be an ill-grounded ſurmiſe; for it was afterward known, that he had been taken by ſome Indians, who carried him priſoner to Acapulco, from whence he was transferred

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to Mexico, and then to Vera Cruz, where he was ſhipped on board a veſſel bound to Old Spain. But this veſſel being obliged by ſome accident to put into Liſbon, Leger eſcaped on ſhore, and was by the Britiſh conſul ſent from thence to England; where he brought the firſt authentic account of the ſafety of the commodore, and of his principal tranſactions in the South Seas.

Toward the latter end of April, the unloading of our three prizes, our wooding and watering, and in ſhort, every one of our propoſed employments at the harbour of Chequetan, were completed: ſo that, on the 27th of April, the Tryal's prize, the Carmelo and the Carmin, all which we here intended to deſtroy, were towed on ſhore and ſcuttled, a quantity of combuſtible materials having been diſtributed in their upper works. The next morning the Centurion with the Glouceſter weighed anchor; though as there was but little wind, and that not in their favour, they were obliged to warp out of the harbour. When they had reached the offing, one of the boats was diſpatched back again to ſet fire to our prizes, which was accordingly executed. After this a canoe was left fixed to a grapnel in the middle of the harbour, with a bottle in it well corked, incloſing a letter to Mr. Hughes, who commanded the cutter, which had been ordered to cruiſe before the port of Acapulco, when we ourſelves quitted that ſtation.

Mr. Hughes, the time of whoſe return was now conſiderably elapſed, was directed by this letter to go back immediately to his former ſtation before Acapulco, where he would find Mr. Anſon, who reſolved to cruiſe for him there a certain number of days; after which it was added, that the commodore would return to the ſouthward to join the reſt of the ſquadron. This laſt article was inſerted to deceive the Spaniards, if they got poſſeſſion of the canoe, as we afterwards learnt they did; but could not impoſe on Mr. Hughes, who well knew that the commodore

had no ſquadron to join, or any intention of ſteering back to Peru.

Being now in the offing of Chequetan, bound croſs the vaſt Pacific ocean in our way to China, we were impatient to run off the coaſt as ſoon as poſſible; ſince the ſtormy ſeaſon was approaching apace. As we had no further views in the American ſeas, we had hoped that nothing would have prevented us from ſteering to the weſtward the moment we got out of the harbour of Chequetan: and it was no ſmall mortification to us, that our neceſſary employment there had detained us ſo much longer than we expected. But now, when we had put to ſea, we were further detained by the abſence of the cutter, and the neceſſity we were under of ſtanding toward Acapulco in ſearch of her.

By Sunday the 2d of May, we were advanced within three leagues of Acapulco, and having ſeen nothing of our boat, we gave her over as loſt, which, beſides the compaſſionate concern for our ſhip-mates, was in itſelf a misfortune, which, in our preſent ſcarcity of hands, we were all greatly intereſted in: ſince the crew of the cutter, conſiſting of ſix men and the lieutenant, were the very flower of our people, purpoſely picked out for his ſervice. However, as it was the general belief among us that they were taken and carried into Acapulco, the commodore's prudence ſuggeſted a project which we hoped would recover them. He wrote a letter to the governor of Acapulco, telling him, that he would releaſe all his Spaniſh and Indian priſoners, provided the governor returned the cutter's crew. This letter was diſpatched in the afternoon by a Spaniſh officer, of whoſe honour we had a good opinion, and who was furniſhed with a launch belonging to one of our prizes, and a crew of ſix other priſoners, who gave their parole for their return. We did not doubt but the governor would readily comply with Mr. Anſon's propoſal, and therefore we kept plying on and off the whole night, intending

tending to keep well in with the land, that we might receive an anſwer at the limited time, which was the next day, being Monday: but both on Monday and Tueſday, we were driven ſo far off ſhore, that we could not hope that any anſwer could reach us; and even on the Wedneſday morning we found ourſelves fourteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco. However, as the wind was then favourable, we preſſed forward with all our ſail, and did not doubt of getting in with the land that afternoon.

Whilſt we were thus ſtanding in, the centinel called out from the maſt-head, that he ſaw a boat under ſail at a conſiderable diſtance to the ſouth eaſtward: this we took for granted was the anſwer of the governor to the commodore's meſſage, and we inſtantly edged towards her; but as we approached her, we found, to our unſpeakable joy, that it was our own cutter. And though, while ſhe was ſtill at a diſtance, we imagined that ſhe had been diſcharged out of the port of Acapulco by the governor; yet when ſhe drew nearer, the wan and meagre countenances of the crew, the length of their beards, and the feeble and hollow tone of their voices, convinced us that they had ſuffered much greater hardſhips than could be expected from even the ſeverities of a Spaniſh priſon. They were obliged to be helped into the ſhip, and were immediately put to bed, where by reſt, and nouriſhing diet, they recovered their health and vigour apace. And now we learnt that they had kept the ſea the whole time of their abſence, which was above ſix weeks; that when they had finiſhed their cruiſe before Acapulco, and had juſt begun to ply to the weſtward, in order to join the ſquadron, a ſtrong adverſe current had forced them down the coaſt to the eaſtward, in ſpite of all their efforts to the contrary; that their water being all expended, they were obliged to ſearch the coaſt farther on to the eaſtward, in queſt of ſome convenient landing-place, but found every where ſo large a ſurf, that there

was not the leaſt poſſibility of their landing; that at laſt, giving up all hopes of ſuccour, the heat of the climate too augmenting their neceſſities, they abandoned themſelves to deſpair, but that a moſt unexpected ſhower of rain happily relieved them: and being now luckily favoured by a ſtrong current, they joined us in leſs than fifty hours, from that time, after having been abſent in the whole full forty-three days.

Having thus recovered our cutter, the ſole object of our coming a ſecond time before Acapulco; the commodore determined not to loſe a moment's time more, but to run off the coaſt with the utmoſt expedition, both as the ſtormy ſeaſon on the coaſt of Mexico was now approaching a-pace, and as we were apprehenſive of having the weſterly monſoons to ſtruggle with when we came upon the coaſt of China: for this reaſon we no longer ſtood toward Acapulco, as at preſent we wanted no anſwer from the governor. However Mr. Anſon reſolved not to deprive his priſoners of the liberty which he had promiſed them; and therefore they were all immediately embarked in two launches, well equipped with maſts, ſails, and oars; with a ſtock of water and proviſions put on board them ſufficient for fourteen days. There were diſcharged 57 perſons, the greateſt part of them Spaniards, the reſt being Indians and ſick negroes: indeed as our crews were very weak, we kept the mulattoes and ſome of the ſtouteſt of our negroes, with a few Indians to aſſiſt us; but we diſmiſſed every Spaniſh priſoner whatever. We have ſince learnt, that theſe two launches arrived ſafe at Acapulco, where the priſoners could not enough extol the humanity with which they had been treated. It ſeems the governor, before their arrival, had returned a very obliging anſwer to our letter, and had at the ſame time ordered out two boats laden with the choiceſt refreſhments and proviſions that were to be procured at Acapulco; which he intended as a preſent to the com-

commodore: but theſe boats not having found our ſhips, were at length obliged to put back again, after having thrown all their proviſions over-board in a ſtorm which threatened their deſtruction.

Thus, on the 6th of May, we, for the laſt time, loſe ſight of the mountains of Mexico, perſuaded, that in a few weeks we ſhould arrive at the river of Canton in China, where we expected to meet with many Engliſh ſhips, and with numbers of our countrymen; and hoped to enjoy the advantages of an amicable well frequented port, inhabited by a poliſhed people, and abounding with the conveniencies of a civilized life; bleſſings which now for near twenty months had never been once in our power.

After the recital of the tranſactions of the commodore, and the ſhips under his command, on the coaſts of Peru and Mexico; it will be no uſeleſs digreſſion to examine what the whole ſquadron might have been capable of atchieving, had it arrived on its deſtined ſcene of action in ſo good a plight as it would probably have done, if the paſſage round Cape Horn had been attempted at a more ſeaſonable time of the year. To begin then; it will be granted, that in the ſummer time we might have got round Cape Horn without any material damage to our ſhips or men. We might doubtleſs have appeared before Baldivia in full ſtrength, and in a condition of entering immediately on action; and therefore, as that place was in a very defenceleſs ſtate, it was impoſſible that it could have oppoſed our force, or that its half ſtarved inhabitants, moſt of whom are convicts baniſhed thither from other parts, could have had any other thoughts than that of ſubmitting. This would have been a very important acquiſition; ſince when Baldivia, which is an excellent port, had been once in our poſſeſſion, we ſhould immediately have been terrible to the whole kingdom of Chili, and ſhould doubtleſs have awed the moſt diſtant parts of the Spaniſh empire in America. Indeed it is far from improbable, that

that by a prudent uſe of this place, aided by our other advantages, we might have given a violent ſhock to the authority of Spain on that whole continent; and might have rendered ſome at leaſt of her provinces independent. This would certainly have turned the whole attention of the Spaniſh miniſtry to that part of the world: and thence Great Britain, and her allies, might have been rid of the numerous difficulties, which the wealth of the Spaniſh Indies, operating in conjunction with the Gallick intrigues, have conſtantly thrown in their way.

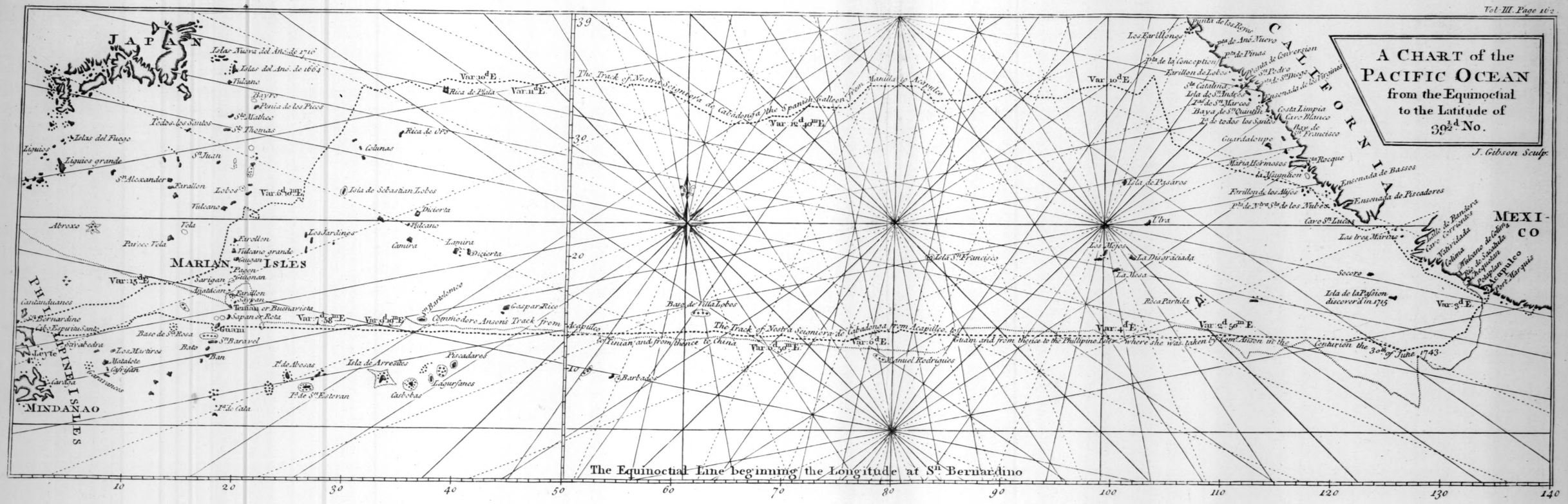
But that I may not be thought to over-rate the force of this ſquadron, by aſcribing to it a power of overturning the Spaniſh government in America, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the conjuncture was the moſt favourable we could have deſired: the Creolian ſubjects were diſaffected, their governors at variance; the country wretchedly unprovided with arms and ſtores, and they had fallen into a total neglect of all military regulations in their garriſons. The Indians on their frontier were univerſally diſcontented, and ſeemed to be watching with impatience ſome favourable moment when they might take a ſevere revenge for the barbarities they had groaned under during more than two ages: ſo that every circumſtance concurred to facilitate the enterpriſes of our ſquadron. Of all theſe articles we were amply informed by the letters we took on board our prizes; none of theſe veſſels having had the precaution to throw their papers over-board.

The ill blood amongſt the governors was greatly augmented by their apprehenſions of our ſquadron; for every one being willing to have it believed, that the bad condition of his government was not the effect of negligence, there were continual demands and remonſtrances among them, in order to throw the blame upon each other.

By ſea there was no force capable of oppoſing us; for how ſoon ſoever we had ſailed, Pizarro's ſquadron could

A CHART of the PACIFIC OCEAN from the Equinoctial to the Latitude of 30½ No.

J. Gibson Sculp.



could not have ſailed ſooner than it did, and therefore could not have avoided the fate it met with. As we ſhould have been maſters of the ports of Chili, we could thereby have ſupplied ourſelves with the proviſions we wanted in the greateſt plenty; and from Baldivia to the equinoctial we ran no riſque of loſing our men by ſickneſs, (that being of all climates the moſt temperate and healthy) nor of having our ſhips diſabled by bad weather. And had we wanted ſailors to aſſiſt in the navigating of our ſquadron, whilſt a conſiderable proportion of our men were employed on ſhore, we could not have failed of getting whatever numbers of Indian ſailors we pleaſed in the ports we ſhould have taken, and from the prizes which would have fallen into our hands.

Having thus diſcuſſed the prodigious weight which the operations of our ſquadron might have added to the national influence of this kingdom, we will follow the ſhattered remains of our force acroſs the Pacific ocean.

When, on the 6th of May, 1742, we left the coaſt of America, we ſtood to the ſouth weſt, with a view of meeting the north eaſt trade-wind, which the accounts of former writers taught us to expect at ſeventy or eighty leagues from the land. We had beſide another reaſon for ſtanding to the ſouthward, which was the getting into the latitude of 13 or 14° north; that being the parallel where the Pacific ocean is moſt uſually croſſed, and conſequently where the navigation is eſteemed the ſafeſt: this laſt purpoſe we had ſoon anſwered, being in a day or two ſufficiently advanced to the ſouth. But though we were at the ſame time more diſtant from the ſhore, than we had preſumed was neceſſary for the falling in with the trade-wind; yet in this particular we were moſt grievouſly diſappointed; it was ſeven weeks, from our leaving the coaſt, before we got into the trade-wind. This was an interval in which we had at firſt believed we ſhould well nigh have reached the eaſtermoſt parts

of

of Aſia; but we were ſo baffled with contrary and variable winds, that we were not as yet advanced above a fourth of the way. The delay alone would have been a ſufficient mortification; but there were other circumſtances attending it, which rendered this ſituation not leſs terrible, and our apprehenſions perhaps ſtill greater than in any of our paſt calamities. For our two ſhips were by this time extremely crazy; and many days had not paſſed before we diſcovered a ſpring in the foremaſt of the Centurion, which rounded about twenty-ſix inches of its circumference, and which was judged to be at leaſt four inches deep. And no ſooner had the carpenters ſecured this maſt with fiſhing it, than the Glouceſter made a ſignal of diſtreſs, to inform us that ſhe had a ſpring in her main-maſt, twelve feet below the truſſel-trees; which appeared ſo dangerous that ſhe could not carry any ſail upon it. Our carpenters, on a ſtrict examination of this maſt, found it exceſſively rotten and decayed; and it being judged neceſſary to cut it down as low as it was defective, it was by this means reduced to nothing but a ſtump, which ſerved only as a ſtep to the top-maſt. Theſe accidents being added to our other diſtreſſes occaſioned great anxiety about our future ſafety. For the ſcurvy now began to make freſh havock amongſt our people: and we too well knew the effects of this diſeaſe, by fatal experience, to ſuppoſe that any thing except a ſpeedy paſſage could ſecure the greater part of our crew from being deſtroyed. Indeed, ſeveral amongſt us were willing to believe, that in this warm climate, ſo different from what we felt in paſſing round Cape Horn, the violence of this diſeaſe, and its fatality, might be in ſome degree mitigated. But the ravage of the diſtemper, in our preſent circumſtances, ſoon convinced us of the falſity of this ſpeculation; as it likewiſe exploded certain other opinions which uſually paſs current about the cauſe and nature of this diſeaſe.

For it has been generally preſumed, that ſufficient ſupplies of water and of freſh proviſions, are effectual pre-

preventives of this malady; but it happened that in the preſent caſe we had a conſiderable ſtock of freſh proviſions on board, being the hogs and fowls which were taken at Paita; we beſides almoſt daily caught great abundance of bonitos, dolphins, and albicores: the unſettled ſeaſon, which deprived us of the benefit of the trade-wind, proved extremely rainy; ſo that we were enabled to fill up our water-caſks, almoſt as faſt as they were empty; and each man had five pints of water allowed him every day during the paſſage. But notwithſtanding this plenty of water, notwithſtanding that the freſh proviſions were diſtributed amongſt the ſick, and the whole crew often fed upon fiſh, notwithſtanding the great attention paid to cleanſing and keeping the ſhips airy and ſweet; yet neither were the ſick hereby relieved, or the progreſs or malignity of the diſeaſe at all abated.

However, I would not be underſtood to aſſert, that freſh proviſions, plenty of water, and a conſtant ſupply of ſweet air between decks, are matters of no moment: on the contrary, they are all of them extremely conducive to the health and vigour of a crew, and may in many caſes prevent this fatal malady from taking place. What I have advanced, is only to evince, that in ſome inſtances, both the cure and prevention of this malady is impoſſible to be effected by any management, or by the application of any remedies which can be made uſe of at ſea. Indeed, when it has got to a certain head, there are no other means in nature for relieving the ſick but carrying them on ſhore, or at leaſt bringing them into the neighbourhood of the land.

It was at laſt reſolved by the commodore to try the ſucceſs of the pill and drop of Mr. Ward. For however violent the operations of theſe medicines are ſaid to have ſometimes proved, yet in the preſent inſtance, where, without ſome remedy, deſtruction ſeemed inevitable, the experiment at leaſt was thought adviſe-

adviſeable. Out of the numbers who took them, one, ſoon after ſwallowing the pill, was ſeized with a violent bleeding at the noſe: he was before given over by the ſurgeon, and lay almoſt at the point of death; but he immediately found himſelf much better, and continued to recover, though ſlowly, till we arrived on ſhore, which was near a fortnight after. A few others too were relieved for ſome days, but the diſeaſe returned again with as much virulence as ever. The moſt remarkable property of theſe medicines was, that they acted in proportion to the vigour of the patient; ſo that thoſe who were within two or three days of dying were ſcarcely affected; and as the patient was differently advanced in the diſeaſe, the operation was either a gentle perſpiration, an eaſy vomit, or a moderate purge: but if they were taken by one in full ſtrength, they then produced all the forementioned effects with conſiderable violence, which ſometimes continued for ſix or eight hours together, with little intermiſſion.

When we reached the trade-wind, and it ſettled between the north and eaſt, yet it ſeldom blew with ſo much ſtrength, that the Centurion might not have carried all her ſmall ſails abroad without the leaſt danger; ſo that, had we been a ſingle ſhip, we might have run down our longitude a-pace, and have arrived at the Ladrones ſoon enough to have recovered great numbers of our men, who afterward periſhed. But the Glouceſter, by the loſs of her mainmaſt, ſailed ſo very heavily that we had ſeldom any more than our top-ſails ſet, and yet were frequently obliged to lie to for her: and, on the whole we loſt little leſs than a month by our attendance upon her, in conſequence of the various miſchances ſhe encountered. During all this run it was remarkable, that we were rarely many days together without ſeeing great numbers of birds; which is a proof that there are ſeveral iſlands, or at leaſt rocks, ſcattered all along, at no very conſiderable diſtance from our track.

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The trade-wind continued to favour us, without any fluctuation, from the end of June till toward the end of July. But on the 26th of July, being then, as we eſteemed, about three hundred leagues from the Ladrones, we met with a weſterly wind, which did not come about again to the eaſtward in four days time. In one part of theſe four days the wind flatted to a calm, and the ſhips rolled very deep; by which means the Glouceſter's forecap ſplitting, her fore-top maſt came by the board, and broke her fore-yard directly in the ſlings. As ſhe was hereby rendered incapable of making any ſail for ſome time, we were under a neceſſity to take her in tow; and near twenty of the healthieſt and ableſt of our ſeamen were continued eight or ten days together on board the Glouceſter to aſſiſt in repairing her damages: but theſe things, mortifying as we thought them, were only the commencement of our diſaſters; for ſcarce had our people finiſhed their buſineſs in the Glouceſter before we met with a moſt violent ſtorm from the weſtern board, which obliged us to lie to. At the beginning of this ſtorm our ſhip ſprung a leak, and let in ſo much water that all our people, officers included, were conſtantly employed about the pumps: and the next day we had the vexation to ſee the main-top maſt of the Glouceſter, which lately had hitherto ſerved her as a jury main maſt, come by the board. Indeed we were not as yet fully apprized of the deplorable ſituation of the Glouceſter's crew; for when the ſtorm abated, which, during its continuance, prevented all communication with them, the Glouceſter bore up under our ſtern; and captain Mitchel informed the commodore, that beſide the loſs of his maſts, which was all that was viſible to us, the ſhip had then no leſs than ſeven feet of water in her hold, although his officers and men had been conſtantly at the pumps for the laſt twenty-four hours.

This new circumſtance was indeed a moſt terrible accumulation to the other extraordinary diſtreſſes of the

the Glouceſter, and required, if poſſible, the moſt ſpeedy and vigorous aſſiſtance; which captain Mitchel begged the commodore to afford him: but the debility of our people, and our own immediate preſervation, rendered it impracticable for the commodore to comply with his requeſt. All that could be done, was to ſend our boat on board for a more particular account of the ſhip's condition; as it was ſoon ſuſpected that the taking her people on board us, and then deſtroying her, was the only meaſure that could be proſecuted in the preſent emergency, both for the ſecurity of their lives and of our men.

Our boat ſoon returned with a repreſentation of the ſtate of the Glouceſter, and of her ſeveral defects, ſigned by captain Mitchel and all his officers. The commodore, on the peruſal of this melancholy repreſentation, preſently ordered them a ſupply of water and proviſions, of which they ſeemed to be in the moſt preſſing want: and at the ſame time ſent his own carpenter on board them, to examine into the truth of every particular, and it was found, on the ſtricteſt enquiry, that the account was in no inſtance exaggerated. Indeed there was no room for deliberation; the only ſtep to be taken, was the ſaving the lives of the few that remained on board the Glouceſter, and the getting out of her as much as we could before ſhe was deſtroyed. The commodore therefore immediately ſent an order to capt. Mitchel to put his people on board the Centurion, as expeditiouſly as he could, now the weather was calm and favourable; and to take out ſuch ſtores as he could get at whilſt the ſhip could be kept above water.

Mr. Anſon was extremely deſirous to have ſaved two of her cables and an anchor, but the ſhip rolled ſo much, and the men were ſo exceſſively fatigued, that they were incapable of effecting it; nay, it was even with the greateſt difficulty that the prize money, which the Glouceſter had taken

in the South Seas, was ſecured and ſent on board the Centurion.

When ſhe was ſet on fire, captain Mitchel and his officers left her, and came on board the Centurion: and we immediately ſtood from the wreck, not without ſome apprehenſions (as we had only a light breeze) that if ſhe blew up ſoon, the concuſſion of the air might damage our rigging; but ſhe fortunately continued burning the whole night, ſo that though her guns fired ſucceſſively, as the flames reached them; yet it was ſix in the morning, when we were about four leagues diſtant, before ſhe blew up.

Thus periſhed his majeſty's ſhip the Glouceſter. And now it might have been expected, that being freed from the embarraſſments which her frequent diſaſters had involved us in, we ſhould have proceeded on our way much briſker than we had hitherto done, by the taking on board the Glouceſter's crew. However we were ſoon taught that our anxieties were not yet to be relieved; and that, notwithſtanding all we had already ſuffered, there remained much greater diſtreſſes, which we were ſtill to ſtruggle with. For the late ſtorm, which had proved fatal to the Glouceſter, had driven us to the northward of our intended courſe; and the current ſetting the ſame way, after the weather abated, had forced us yet a degree or two farther, ſo that we were now in 17° ¼ of north latitude, inſtead of being in 13° ½, which was the parallel we propoſed to keep, in order to reach the iſland of Guam. As it had been a perfect calm for ſome days ſince the ceſſation of the ſtorm, and we were ignorant how near we were to the meridian of the Ladrones, though we ſuppoſed ourſelves not to be far from it; we apprehended that we might be driven to the leeward of them by the current, without diſcovering them. But when a gale ſprung up, our condition was ſtill worſe; for it blew from the ſouth weſt, and conſequently was directly oppoſite to the

courſe we wanted to ſteer. However, on the 22d of Auguſt we had the ſatisfaction to find that the current was ſhifted; and had ſet us to the ſouthward. And the 23d, at day-break, we were cheered with the diſcovery of two iſlands on the weſtern board; which proved to be Anatacan and Serigan. This gave us all great joy, and raiſed our drooping ſpirits; for till then an univerſal dejection had ſeized us, and we almoſt deſpaired of ever ſeeing land again. By the next morning we were got ſo far to the weſtward, that we were in ſight of a third iſland, which was that of Paxaros. This was very ſmall, and the land low, ſo that we had paſſed within leſs than a mile of it, in the night, without obſerving it. At noon, being then not four miles from the iſland of Anatacan, the boat was ſent away to examine the anchoring ground and the produce of the place; and we were not a little ſolicitous for her return. In the evening the boat came back, and the crew informed us that there was no road for a ſhip to anchor in, the bottom being every where foul ground. They further told us, that when they had landed on the iſland, they met with no water, and did not believe the place to be inhabited; though the ſoil was good, and abounded with groves of coco-nut trees.

The account of the impoſſibility of anchoring at this iſland occaſioned a general melancholy on board; for we conſidered it as little leſs than the prelude to our deſtruction: and our deſpondency was increaſed by a diſappointment we met with the ſucceeding night; when, as we were plying under top-ſails, with an intention of getting nearer to the iſland, and of ſending our boat on ſhore to load with coco-nuts for the refreſhment of our ſick; the wind proved ſqually, and blew ſo ſtrong off ſhore, that we were driven too far to the ſouthward, to venture to ſend off our boat. And now the only poſſible circumſtance that could ſecure the few which remained alive from periſhing, was the accidental falling in with

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ſome other of the Ladrone iſlands, better prepared for our accommodation; but as our knowlege of theſe iſlands was extremely imperfect, we were to truſt entirely to chance for our guidance.

It was on the 26th of Auguſt, 1742, in the morning, when we loſt ſight of the iſland of Anatacan, dreading that it was the laſt land we ſhould ever fix our eyes on. But the next morning we diſcovered three other iſlands to the eaſtward, which were between ten and fourteen leagues diſtant from us. Theſe were, as we afterwards learnt, the iſlands of Saypan, Tinian, and Aguigan. We immediately ſteered toward Tinian, which was the middlemoſt of the three; but we had ſo much of calms, that though we were helped forward by the currents, yet on the morrow, at day-break, we had not advanced nearer than within five leagues of it. However, we kept on our courſe, and about ten o'clock we perceived a proa under ſail to the ſouthward between Tinian and Aguigan. As we imagined from hence that theſe iſlands were inhabited, and knew that the Spaniards had always a force at Guam, we took the neceſſary precautions for our own ſecurity: and endeavoured to prevent the enemy as much as poſſible from making an advantage of our preſent wretched circumſtances, of which we feared they would be ſufficiently informed by the manner of our working the ſhip. We ſhewed Spaniſh colours, and ſtanding toward the land, we were near enough, at three in the afternoon, to ſend the cutter in ſhore, to find out a proper birth for the ſhip; and we ſoon perceived that a proa put off from the iſland to meet the cutter, fully perſuaded, as we afterward found, that we were the Manilla ſhip. As we ſaw the cutter returning with the proa in tow, we inſtantly ſent the pinnace to receive the proa and the priſoners, and to bring them on board, that the cutter might proceed on her errand. The pinnace came back with a Spaniard and four Indians, which were the

people taken in the proa: and the Spaniard being immediately examined as to the produce and circumſtances of this iſland of Tinian, his account of it ſurpaſſed even our moſt ſanguine hopes. For he informed us, that though it was uninhabited, (which in itſelf, conſidering our preſent defenceleſs condition, was a convenience not to be deſpiſed) yet it wanted but few of the accommodations that could be expected in the moſt cultivated country: and that from the quantity and goodneſs of the proviſions produced here, the Spaniards at Guam made uſe of it as a ſtore for ſupplying the garriſon.

This relation was received by us with inexpreſſible joy: part of it we were ourſelves able to verify on the ſpot, as we were by this time near enough to diſcover ſeveral numerous herds of cattle feeding in different places of the iſland; and we did not any way doubt the reſt of his narration; ſince the appearance of the ſhore prejudiced us greatly in its favour.

The Spaniſh ſerjeant, from whom we received the account of the iſland, having informed us that there were ſome Indians on ſhore under his command, employed in jerking beef, and that there was a bark at anchor to take it on board; we were deſirous, if poſſible, to prevent the Indians from eſcaping, ſince they would certainly have given the governor of Guam intelligence of our arrival. We therefore immediately diſpatched the pinnace to ſecure the bark, as the ſerjeant told us that was the only embarkation on the place; and then, about eight in the evening, we let go our anchor in twenty-two fathom. But though it was almoſt calm, and whatever vigour and ſpirit was to be found on board was doubtleſs exerted to the utmoſt on this pleaſing occaſion, when, after having kept the ſea for ſome months, we were going to take poſſeſſion of this little paradiſe; yet we were full five hours in furling our ſails. It is true, we were ſomewhat weakened by the crews of the

the cutter and pinnace which were ſent on ſhore; but it is not leſs true, that, including thoſe abſent with the boats and ſome negroe and Indian priſoners, all the hands we could muſter capable of ſtanding at a gun amounted to no more than ſeventy-one, moſt of which too were incapable of duty, except on the greateſt emergencies.

In the morning a party was ſent on ſhore well armed, of which I myſelf was one, to make ourſelves maſters of the landing-place, ſince we were not certain what oppoſition might be made by the Indians on the iſland: we landed however without difficulty; for the Indians fled into the woody parts of the iſland. We found on ſhore many huts which they had inhabited, and which ſaved us both the time and trouble of erecting tents; one of theſe huts which the Indians made uſe of for a ſtore-houſe was very large, being twenty yards long, and fifteen broad: this we immediately cleared of ſome bales of jerked beef, which had been left in it, and converted it into an hoſpital for our ſick, who were brought on ſhore, being in all a hundred and twenty-eight; and it is almoſt incredible how ſoon they began to feel the ſalutary influence of the land.

This iſland lies in the latitude of 15°: 8′ north, and longitude from Acapulco 114°: 50′ weſt. Its length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about half as much; it extending from the ſouth ſouth weſt to the north north eaſt. The ſoil is every where dry and healthy, and being withal ſomewhat ſandy, it is thereby the leſs diſpoſed to a rank and over luxuriant vegetation: and hence the meadows and the bottoms of the woods are much neater and ſmoother than is cuſtomary in hot climates. The land roſe in gentle ſlopes from the very beach where we watered, to the middle of the iſland, though the general courſe of its aſcent was often interrupted by vallies of an eaſy deſcent, many of which wind irregularly through the country. The woods conſiſted

of tall and well ſpread trees; the lawns were uſually of a conſiderable breadth, their turf quite clean and uniform, being compoſed of a very fine trefoil, intermixed with a variety of flowers. The woods too were in many places open, and free from all buſhes and underwood, ſo that the neatneſs of the adjacent turf was frequently extended to a conſiderable diſtance, under the hollow ſhade formed by the trees. Hence aroſe a great number of the moſt elegant and entertaining proſpects, according to the different blendings of theſe woods and lawns, and their various interſections with each other. Nor were the allurements of Tinian confined to the excellency of its landſkips only; ſince the fortunate animals, which during the greateſt part of the year are the ſole lords of this happy ſoil, partake in ſome meaſure of the romantic caſt of the iſland, and are no ſmall addition to its wonderful ſcenery; for the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to ſee herds of ſome thouſands feeding together, are certainly the moſt remarkable in the world; as they are all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally brown or black. And though there are no inhabitants here, yet the clamour of domeſtic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite the idea of the neighbourhood of farms and villages; and greatly contribute to the chearfulneſs and beauty of the place.

This place was not only extremely grateful to us, from the plenty and excellency of its freſh proviſions, but was as much perhaps to be admired on account of its fruits and vegetable productions; which were moſt fortunately adapted to the cure of the ſea ſcurvy, the diſeaſe which had ſo terribly reduced us. In the woods there were inconceivable quantities of coco-nuts, with the cabbages growing on the ſame tree: there were beſides, guavas, limes, ſweet and ſour oranges and a kind of fruit peculiar to theſe iſlands, called by the Indians Rhymay, but by us the Bread Fruit, for it was conſtantly eaten by

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us during our ſtay upon the iſland inſtead of bread, and ſo univerſally preferred to it that no ſhip's bread was expended in that whole interval. The fruit is found indifferently on all parts of the branches; it is in ſhape rather elliptical than round; is covered with a rough rind, and is uſually ſeven or eight inches long; each of them grows ſingly, and not in cluſters. This fruit is fitteſt to be uſed when it is full grown, but ſtill green, in which ſtate, after it is properly prepared by being roaſted in the embers, its taſte has ſome diſtant reſemblance to that of an artichoke's bottom, and its texture is not very different, for it is ſoft and ſpongy. As it ripens it becomes ſofter and of a yellow colour, when it contracts a luſcious taſte and an agreeable ſmell, not unlike a ripe peach; but then it is eſteemed unwholeſome, and is ſaid to produce fluxes: it is deſcribed in Ray's hiſtory of plants.

It will eaſily be conceived from what has been already ſaid, that our cheer upon this iſland was in ſome degree luxurious; but I have not yet recited all the varieties of proviſion which we here indulged in. Indeed we thought it prudent totally to abſtain from fiſh, the few we caught at our firſt arrival having ſurfeited thoſe who eat of them; but conſidering how much we had been inured to that ſpecies of food, we did not regard this circumſtance as a diſadvantage, eſpecially as the defect was ſo amply ſupplied by the beef, pork, and fowls already mentioned, and by great plenty of wild fowl.

It may now perhaps be wondered at, that an iſland ſo exquiſitely furniſhed with the conveniences of life, ſhould be entirely deſtitute of inhabitants; eſpecially as it is in the neighbourhood of other iſlands, which in ſome meaſure depend upon this for their ſupport. To obviate this difficulty, I muſt obſerve, that it is not fifty years ſince the iſland was depopulated. The Indians we had in our cuſtody aſſured us, that formerly the three iſlands of Tinian, Rota, and

Guam, were all full of inhabitants; and that Tinian alone contained thirty thouſand ſouls: but a ſickneſs raging amongſt theſe iſlands which deſtroyed multitudes of the people, the Spaniards, to recruit their numbers at Guam, which were extremely diminiſhed by the mortality, ordered all the inhabitants of Tinian thither; where, languiſhing for their former habitations and their cuſtomary method of life, the greateſt part of them in a few years died of grief.

It may perhaps be doubted, if the number of the inhabitants of Tinian, who were baniſhed to Guam, and who died there pining for their native home, was ſo conſiderable as what we have related above; but, not to mention the concurrent aſſertion of our priſoners, the commodiouſneſs of the iſland, and its great fertility, there are ſtill remains to be met with on the place, which ſhew it to have been once extremely populous. For there are, in all parts of the iſland, many ruins of a particular kind: theſe uſually conſiſt of two rows of ſquare pyramidical pillars, each pillar being about ſix feet from the next, and the diſtance between the rows being about twelve feet. The pillars themſelves are about five feet ſquare at the baſe, and about thirteen feet high; and on the top of each of them there is a ſemi-globe, with the flat ſurface upwards: the whole of the pillars and ſemi-globe is ſolid, being compoſed of ſand and ſtone cemented together, and plaiſtered over. If the account our priſoners gave us of theſe ſtructures was true, the iſland muſt indeed have been moſt extraordinary well peopled; ſince they aſſured us, that they were the foundations of particular buildings ſet apart for thoſe Indians only, who had engaged in ſome religious vow; monaſtic inſtitutions being often to be met with in many pagan nations. However, if theſe ruins were originally the baſis of the common dwelling-houſes of the natives, their numbers muſt have

have been conſiderable; for in many parts of the iſland they are extremely thick planted.

Having briefly recounted the conveniences of this place, the excellency and quantity of its fruits and proviſions, the neatneſs of its lawns, the ſtatelineſs, freſhneſs, and fragrance of its woods, and the variety and elegance of the views it afforded; I muſt now obſerve that all theſe advantages were greatly enhanced by the healthineſs of its climate, by the almoſt conſtant breezes which prevail, and by the frequent ſhowers which fell there: for theſe, inſtead of the heavy continued rains which in ſome countries render a great part of the year ſo unpleaſing, were uſually of a very ſhort and almoſt momentary duration. Hence they were extremely grateful and refreſhing, and were perhaps one cauſe of the ſalubrity of the air, and of the extraordinary influence it was obſerved to have upon us, in increaſing and invigorating our appetites and digeſtion. This effect was indeed remarkable, ſince thoſe amongſt our officers, who were at all other times ſpare and temperate eaters, were here, in appearance, transformed into gluttons: for inſtead of one reaſonable fleſh-meal, they were now ſcarcely ſatisfied with three, each of them too ſo prodigious in quantity, as would at another time have produced a fever or a ſurfeit. And yet our digeſtion ſo well correſponded to the keenneſs of our appetites, that we were neither diſordered nor even loaded by this uncommon repletion.

As to the reſidence upon the iſland, the principal inconvenience attending it is the vaſt numbers of muſcatos, and various other ſpecies of flies, together with an inſect called a tick: this, though principally attached to the cattle, would yet frequently faſten upon our limbs and bodies, and raiſe a painful inflammation. We found here too centipedes and ſcorpions, which we ſuppoſed were venomous, though none of us ever received any injury from them.

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But the moſt important and formidable exception to this place remains ſtill to be told. This is the inconvenience of the road, and the little ſecurity there is in ſome ſeaſons for a ſhip at anchor. The only proper anchoring-place for ſhips of burthen is at the ſouth-weſt end of the iſland. Here the Centurion anchored in twenty and twenty-two fathom water, about a mile and a half diſtant from the ſhore, oppoſite to a ſandy bay. The bottom of this road is full of ſharp pointed coral rocks, which, during four months of the year, that is, from the middle of June to the middle of October, render it a very unſafe anchorage. This is the ſeaſon of the weſtern monſoons, when near the full and change of the moon, but more particularly at the change, the wind is uſually variable all round the compaſs, and ſeldom fails to blow with ſuch fury, that the ſtouteſt cables are not to be confided in. In the remaining eight months of the year, that is, from the middle of October to the middle of June, there is a conſtant ſeaſon of ſettled weather; when, if the cables are but well armed, there is ſcarcely any danger of their being even rubbed; ſo that during all that interval it is as ſecure a road as could be wiſhed for.

Our firſt undertaking, after our arrival, was the removal of our ſick on ſhore, as hath been related. Whilſt we were thus employed, four of the Indians on the iſland, being part of the Spaniſh ſerjeant's detachment, came and ſurrendered themſelves to us; ſo that with thoſe we took in the proa, we had now eight of them in our cuſtody. One of the four who ſubmitted, undertook to ſhew us the moſt convenient places for killing cattle, and two of our men were ordered to attend him on that ſervice: but one of them unwarily truſting the Indian with his firelock and piſtol, the Indian eſcaped with them into the woods. His countrymen, who remained behind, were apprehenſive of ſuffering for this perfidy of their comrade; and therefore begged leave to ſend

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one of their own party into the country, who, they engaged, ſhould both bring back the arms, and perſuade the whole detachment from Guam to ſubmit to us. The commodore granted their requeſt; and one of them was diſpatched on this errand, who returned next day, and brought back the firelock and piſtol, but aſſured us, he had found them in a path-way in the wood, and proteſted that he had not been able to meet with any one of his countrymen: this report had ſo little the air of truth, that we ſuſpected there was ſome treachery carrying on; and therefore, to prevent any future communication amongſt them, we immediately ordered all the Indians who were in our power on board the ſhip, and did not permit them to go any more on ſhore.

When our ſick were well ſettled on the iſland, we employed all the hands that could be ſpared from attending them, in arming the cables with a good rounding, ſeveral fathom from the anchor, to ſecure them from being rubbed by the coral rocks which here abounded. This being compleated, our next occupation was our leak, and in order to raiſe it out of water, we, on the 1ſt of September, began to get the guns aft to bring the ſhip by the ſtern; and now the carpenters, being able to come at it on the outſide, they ripped off what was left of the old ſheathing, caulked all the ſeams on both ſides the cut-water, and leaded them over, and then new-ſheathed the bows to the ſurface of the water. But this and ſome farther attempts at ſecuring it proved unavailable; for the water, notwithſtanding all their care, continued to force its way in. We, on this, deſiſted from all farther efforts, being at laſt well aſſured that the defect was in the ſtem itſelf, and that it was not to be remedied till we ſhould have an opportunity of heaving down.

In the firſt part of the month of September, ſeveral of our ſick were tolerably recovered by their reſidence on ſhore; and, on the 12th of September, all thoſe

thoſe who were ſo far relieved ſince their arrival, as to be capable of doing duty, were ſent on board the ſhip: and then the commodore, who was himſelf ill of the ſcurvy, had a tent erected for him on ſhore, where he went with the view of ſtaying a few days to eſtabliſh his health.

As the crew on board were now reinforced by the recovered hands returned from the iſland; we began to ſend our caſks on ſhore to be fitted up, which till this time could not be done, for the coopers were not well enough to work. We likewiſe weighed our anchors, that we might examine our cables, which we ſuſpected had by this time received conſiderable damage. And as the new moon was now approaching, when we apprehended violent gales, the commodore, for our greater ſecurity, ordered that part of the cables next to the anchors to be armed with the chains of the fire-grapnels; beſide which they were cackled twenty fathom from the anchors, and ſeven fathom from the ſervice, with a good rounding of a four one half inch halſer: and, being perſuaded that the dangers of this road demanded our utmoſt foreſight, we, to all theſe precautions, added that of lowering the main and fore-yard cloſe down, that in caſe of blowing weather, the wind might have leſs power upon the ſhip, to make her ride a ſtrain.

Thus, effectually prepared, as we conceived, we waited till the new moon, which was the 18th of September, when riding ſafe that and the three ſucceeding days, (though the weather proved very ſqually and uncertain) we flattered ourſelves (for I was then on board) that the prudence of our meaſures had ſecured us from all accidents; but on the 22d, the wind blew from the eaſtward with ſuch fury, that we ſoon deſpaired of riding out the ſtorm. All communication with the ſhore was now abſolutely cut off; for there was no poſſibility that a boat could live, ſo that we were neceſſitated to ride it out till our cables parted. Indeed we were not long expecting this

this dreadful event, for the ſmall bower parted at five in the afternoon, and the ſhip ſwung off to the beſt bower; and as the night came on, the violence of the wind ſtill increaſed, though, notwithſtanding its inexpreſſible fury, the tide ran with ſo much rapidity as to prevail over it. About eight the tide ſlackened, but the wind not abating, the beſt bower-cable, by which alone we rode, parted at eleven. Our ſheet-anchor, which was the only one we had left, was inſtantly cut from the bow; but before it could reach the bottom, we were driven from twenty-two into thirty-five fathom; and after we had veered away one whole cable, and two thirds of another, we could not find ground with ſixty fathom of line: this was a plain indication, that the anchor lay near the edge of the bank, and could not hold us long. In this preſſing danger, Mr. Saumarez, our firſt lieutenant, who now commanded on board, ordered ſeveral guns to be fired, and lights to be ſhewn, as ſignals to the commodore of our diſtreſs; and in a ſhort time after, it being then about one o'clock, and the night exceſſively dark, a ſtrong guſt, attended with rain and lightening, drove us off the bank, and forced us out to ſea, leaving behind us, on the iſland, Mr. Anſon, with many more of our officers, and great part of our crew, amounting in the whole to a hundred and thirteen perſons.

The ſtorm which drove the Centurion to ſea, blew with too much turbulence to permit either the commodore or any of the people on ſhore to hear the guns, which ſhe fired as ſignals of diſtreſs; and the frequent glare of the lightening had prevented the exploſions from being obſerved: ſo that, when at day-break, it was perceived from the ſhore that the ſhip was miſſing, there was the utmoſt conſternation amongſt them: for much the greateſt part of them immediately concluded that ſhe was loſt; and entreated the commodore that the boat might be ſent round the iſland to look after the wreck: and thoſe who

who believed her ſafe, had ſcarcely any expectation that ſhe would ever be able to make the iſland again: ſince the wind continued to blow ſtrong at eaſt, and they well knew how poorly ſhe was manned, or provided for ſtruggling with ſo tempeſtuous a gale. In either of theſe views, their ſituation was indeed moſt deplorable: for if the Centurion was loſt, or ſhould be incapable of returning, there appeared no poſſibility of their ever getting off the iſland; as they were at leaſt ſix hundred leagues from Macao, which was their neareſt port; and they were maſters of no other veſſel than the ſmall Spaniſh bark of about fifteen ton, ſeized at their firſt arrival, which would not even hold a fourth part of their number. And the chance of their being taken off the iſland by the caſual arrival of any other ſhip, was altogether deſperate. Nor was this the worſt they had to fear; for they had reaſon to apprehend that the governor of Guam, when he ſhould be informed of their circumſtances, might ſend a force ſufficient to overpower them, and to remove them to that iſland: where if he once had them in his power, he would make their want of commiſſions (all of them being on board the Centurion) a pretext for treating them as pyrates, and for depriving them of their lives with infamy.

In the midſt of theſe gloomy reflections, Mr. Anſon, though he always kept up his uſual compoſure and ſteadineſs, had doubtleſs his ſhare of diſquietude. However, he ſoon projected a ſcheme for extricating himſelf and his men from their preſent anxious ſituation: this was to hale the Spaniſh bark on ſhore, to ſaw her aſunder, and to lengthen her twelve feet, which would enlarge her to near forty ton burthen; and would enable her to carry them all to China.

This indeed raiſed their ſpirits, by ſhewing them the poſſibility of their getting away, of which they had before deſpaired; but then, from their confidence in this reſource, they grew leſs apprehenſive of

of their ſituation, gave a greater ſcope to their hopes, and flattered themſelves that the Centurion would be able to regain the iſland, and prevent the execution of a ſcheme, which they could eaſily foreſee would be a work of conſiderable labour. Hence it was ſome days before they were all of them heartily engaged in the project; but at laſt, being convinced of the impoſſibility of the ſhip's return, they betook themſelves zealouſly to the different taſks allotted them, and were as induſtrious and as eager as their commander could deſire.

If we examine how they were prepared for going through with this undertaking, we ſhall find that, independent of other matters which were of as much conſequence, the lengthening of the bark alone was attended with great difficulty. Some of the tools were to be made, many of the materials were wanting, and it required no ſmall degree of invention to ſupply all theſe deficiencies. Nay, when the hull of the bark ſhould be compleated, this was but one article; and there were others of equal weight which were to be well conſidered: theſe were the rigging it, the victualling it, and laſtly, the navigating it, for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven hundred leagues, through unknown ſeas, where no one of the company had ever paſſed before: and in theſe particulars ſuch obſtacles occurred, that, without the intervention of very extraordinary and unexpected accidents, the whole enterprize would have fallen to the ground.

It fortunately happened that the carpenters, both of the Glouceſter and of the Tryal, with their cheſts of tools, were on ſhore when the ſhip drove out to ſea; the ſmith too was on ſhore, and had with him his forge and ſeveral of his tools, but unhappily his bellows had not been brought from on board; ſo that he was incapable of working. The firſt attention therefore was to make him a pair of bellows; but in this they were for ſome time puzzled by want of leather: however, as they had hides in ſuf-

ficient plenty, and they had found a hogſhead of lime, which the Indians or Spaniards had prepared for their own uſe; they tanned a few hides with this lime; and the leather they thus procured anſwered the intention tolerably well, and the bellows was compleated, a gun-barrel ſerving for a pipe.

Whilſt the ſmith was preparing the neceſſary iron-work, others were employed in cutting down trees, and ſawing them into planks; and this being the moſt laborious taſk, the commodore wrought at it himſelf for the encouragement of his people. But there being neither blocks nor cordage ſufficient for tackles to haul the bark on ſhore, this occaſioned a new difficulty; however, it was at length reſolved to get her up on rollers, ſince for theſe the body of the cocoa-nut tree was extremely well fitted; as its ſmoothneſs and circular turn ſuited it to the purpoſe with very little workmanſhip. A number of theſe trees were therefore felled, and the ends of them properly opened for the inſertion of the hand-ſpikes: in the mean time a dry dock was dug to receive the bark, and ways were laid from thence quite into the ſea to facilitate the bringing her up. Neither were theſe the whole of their occupations, ſince, beſide thoſe who were thus buſied in preparing meaſures toward the future enlargement of the bark, a party was conſtantly ordered to kill and provide proviſions for the reſt. And though in theſe various employments, ſome of which demanded conſiderable dexterity, it might have been expected there would have been great confuſion and delay; yet good order being once eſtabliſhed, and all hands engaged, their preparations advanced apace. Indeed, the common men might not be the leſs tractable for their want of ſpirituous liquors: for, there being neither wine nor brandy on ſhore, the juice of the cocoa-nut was their conſtant drink; and this, though extremely pleaſant, was not at all intoxicating, but kept them very temperate and orderly.

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The main work now proceeding ſucceſsfully, the officers began to conſider of all the articles which would be neceſſary to the fitting out the bark for the ſea: on this conſultation it was found, that the tents on ſhore, and the ſpare cordage accidentally left there by the Centurion, together with the ſails and rigging already belonging to the bark, would ſerve to rig her indifferently well when ſhe was lengthened. And as they had tallow in plenty, they propoſed to pay her bottom with a mixture of tallow and lime, which was known not to be ill adapted to that purpoſe: ſo that, with reſpect to her equipment, ſhe would not have been very defective. There was, however, one exception, which was her ſize: for as they could not make her quite forty ton burthen, ſhe would have been incapable of containing half the crew below the deck, and if they were all at the ſame time ordered upon deck, there would be no ſmall hazard of her overſetting: but this was a difficulty not to be removed, as they could not augment her beyond the ſize already propoſed. After the manner of rigging and fitting up the bark was conſidered and regulated, the next eſſential point to be thought on was a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions for their voyage; and here they were greatly at a loſs what expedient to have recourſe to, as they had neither grain nor bread of any kind on ſhore; their bread-fruit, which would not keep at ſea, having all along ſupplied its place; and though they had live cattle enough, yet they had no ſalt to cure beef for a ſea-ſtore, nor would meat take ſalt in that climate. Indeed, they had preſerved a ſmall quantity of jerked beef which they found upon the place at their landing; but this was greatly diſproportioned to the run of near ſix hundred leagues, which they were to engage in. It was at laſt, however, reſolved to put on board as many cocoa-nuts as they poſſibly could, to prolong to the utmoſt their jerked beef, and to endeavour to ſupply their want of bread by rice. To

furniſh themſelves with this, it was propoſed, when the bark was fitted up, to make an expedition to the iſland of Rota, where they were told that the Spaniards had large plantations of rice under the care of the Indian inhabitants: but as this laſt meaſure was to be executed by force, it became neceſſary to examine what ammunition had been left on ſhore, and to preſerve it carefully; and on this inquiry, they had the mortification to find that all the powder that could be collected, by the ſtricteſt ſearch, did not amount to more than ninety charges, which was conſiderably ſhort of one a-piece to each of the company, and was indeed a very ſlender ſtock of ammunition for ſuch as were to eat no grain or bread during a whole month, except what they were to procure by force of arms.

But the moſt alarming circumſtance, and which, without the providential interpoſition of very improbable events, would have rendered all their ſchemes abortive, remains yet to be related: this was, that there was neither compaſs nor quadrant on the iſland. At laſt, after eight days perplexity, in rumaging a cheſt belonging to the Spaniſh bark, they diſcovered a ſmall compaſs, which, though little better than the toys uſually made for the amuſement of ſchool-boys, was to them an invaluable treaſure: and a few days after, by a ſimilar piece of good fortune, they met with a quadrant on the ſea-ſhore, which had been thrown over-board amongſt other lumber belonging to the dead. The quadrant was eagerly ſeized; but on examination it unluckily wanted vanes, and therefore, in its preſent ſtate, was altogether uſeleſs; however, fortune ſtill continuing in a favourable mood, it was not long before a perſon, through curioſity, pulling out the drawer of an old table which had been driven on ſhore, found therein ſome vanes which fitted the quadrant very well; and it being thus compleated, it was examined by the known latitude of the

the place, and upon trial anſwered to a ſufficient degree of exactneſs.

When now all theſe obſtacles were in ſome degree removed, the buſineſs proceeded very vigorouſly: the neceſſary iron-work was in great forwardneſs; and the timber and planks which, though not the moſt exquiſite performances of the ſawyer's art, were yet ſufficient for the purpoſe, were all prepared; ſo that, on the 6th of October, being the 14th day from the departure of the ſhip, they hauled the bark on ſhore, and on the two ſucceeding days ſhe was ſawn aſunder, with the caution not to cut her planks: and her two parts being ſeparated the proper diſtance from each other, and the materials being all ready beforehand, they, the next day, being the 9th of October, went on with no ſmall diſpatch in their propoſed enlargement of her; whence by this time they had all their future operations ſo fairly in view, and were ſo much maſters of them, that they were able to determine when the whole would be finiſhed, and had accordingly fixed the 5th of November for the day of their putting to ſea. But their projects and labours were now drawing to a ſpeedier and happier concluſion; for on the 11th of October, in the afternoon, one of the Glouceſter's men being on a hill in the middle of the iſland, perceived the Centurion at a diſtance, and running down with his utmoſt ſpeed towards the landing-place, he, in the way, ſaw ſome of his comrades, to whom he hallooed out with great extaſy, The ſhip, the ſhip! By five in the evening the Centurion was viſible in the offing to them all; and, a boat being ſent off with eighteen men to reinforce her, and with freſh meat and fruits, ſhe, the next afternoon, happily caſt anchor in the road, where the commodore immediately came on board her, and was received with the ſincereſt and heartieſt acclamations.

The Centurion being now once more ſafely arrived at Tinian, to the mutual reſpite of the labours of

our divided crew; the reader, after the relation already given of the projects and employment of thoſe left on ſhore, ſhould be apprized of the fatigues and diſtreſſes to which we, whom the Centurion carried off to ſea, were expoſed, during the long interval of nineteen days that we were abſent from the iſland.

It has been already mentioned, that it was the 22d of September, about one o'clock, in an extreme dark night, when, by the united violence of a prodigious ſtorm, and an exceeding rapid tide, we were driven from our anchors, and forced to ſea. Our condition then was truly deplorable; we were in a leaky ſhip, with three cables in our hawſes, to one of which hung our only remaining anchor; we had not a gun on board laſhed, nor a port barred in; our ſhrouds were looſe, and our top-maſts unrigged, and we had ſtruck our fore and main-yards cloſe down, before the hurricane came on, ſo that there were no ſails we could ſet, except our mizen. In this dreadful extremity we could muſter no more ſtrength on board to navigate the ſhip than a hundred and eight hands, ſeveral negroes and Indians included: this was ſcarcely the fourth part of our complement; and of theſe the greater number were either boys, or ſuch as, being but lately recovered from the ſcurvy, had not yet arrived at half their former vigour. No ſooner were we at ſea, but by the violence of the ſtorm, and the working of the ſhip, we made a great quantity of water through our hawſe-holes, ports, and ſcuppers, which, added to the conſtant effect of our leak, rendered our pumps alone a ſufficient employment for us all: yet we had other dangers then hanging over us, which occaſioned this to be regarded as a ſecondary conſideration only. For we all imagined, that we were driving directly on the neighbouring iſland of Aguiguan, which was about two leagues diſtant; and as we had lowered our main and fore-yards cloſe down, we had no ſails we could ſet but the mizen, which

which was altogether inſufficient to carry us clear of this imminent peril. Urged therefore by this preſſing emergency, we immediately applied ourſelves to work, endeavouring with the utmoſt of our efforts to heave up the main and fore-yards; in hopes that, if we could but be enabled to make uſe of our lower canvas, we might poſſibly weather the iſland, and thereby ſave ourſelves from this impending ſhipwreck. But after full three hours ineffectual labour, the jeers broke; and the men being quite jaded, we were obliged, by mere debility, to deſiſt, and quietly to expect our fate, which we then conceived to be unavoidable. Nor did the terrors of inſtantly ſtriking and ſinking, end but with the day-break; when we with great tranſport perceived, that the iſland we had thus dreaded was at a conſiderable diſtance, and that a ſtrong northern current had been the cauſe of our preſervation.

The turbulent weather which forced us from Tinian, did not abate till three days after, and then we ſwayed up the fore-yard, and began to heave up the main-yard; but the jeers broke again, and killed one of our people, and prevented us at that time from proceeding. The next day, being the 26th of September, was a day of moſt ſevere fatigue to us all; the buſineſs of this day was no leſs than an endeavour to heave up the ſheet-anchor, which we had hitherto dragged at our bows with two cables an end. This was a work of great importance to our future preſervation; for we laboured at it with the ſevereſt application for full twelve hours, when we had indeed made a conſiderable progreſs, having brought the anchor in ſight: but it growing dark, and we being exceſſively fatigued, we were obliged to deſiſt, and to leave our work unfiniſhed till the next morning; and then, refreſhed by the benefit of a night's reſt, we compleated it, and hung the anchor at our bow.

The ſame day we got up our main-yard; ſo that having now conquered, in ſome degree, the diſtreſſes

and diſorder which we were neceſſarily involved in at our firſt driving out to ſea, and being enabled to make uſe of our canvas, we ſet our courſes, and for the firſt time ſtood to the eaſtward, in hopes of regaining the iſland of Tinian; ſince, by our accounts, we were only forty-ſeven leagues diſtant to the ſouth-weſt. Hence, on the 1ſt day of October, having then run the diſtance neceſſary for making the iſland according to our reckoning, we were in full expectation of ſeeing it: but here we were unhappily diſappointed, and were convinced, that a current had driven us conſiderably to the weſtward. However, we were delivered from our uncertainty the next day, having then a ſight of the iſland of Guam; and hence we computed that the currents had driven us forty-four leagues to the weſtward of our accounts. Being now ſatisfied of our ſituation, by this ſight of land, we kept plying to the eaſtward, though with exceſſive labour; for the wind continuing fixed in the eaſtern board, we were obliged to tack often. This ſevere employment laſted till the 11th of October, being the nineteenth day from our departure; when arriving in the offing of Tinian, we were reinforced from the ſhore, as hath been already related.

When the commodore came on board the Centurion, after her return to Tinian, he reſolved to ſtay no longer at the iſland than was abſolutely neceſſary to compleat our ſtock of water. But the loſs of our long-boat, which was ſtaved againſt our poop, before we were driven out to ſea, put us to great inconveniencies in getting our water on board. Nor was this our only misfortune; for, on the 14th of October, being but the third day after our arrival, a ſudden guſt of wind brought home our anchor, forced us off the bank, and drove the ſhip out to ſea a ſecond time. The commodore, it is true, and the principal officers, were now on board; but we had near ſeventy men on ſhore. Theſe had with them our two cutters; but as they were too many for the

cutters

cutters to bring off at once, we ſent the eighteen-oared barge to aſſiſt them; and at the ſame time made a ſignal for all that could embark. The two cutters ſoon came off to us full of men; but forty of the company, who were buſied in killing cattle in the woods, and in bringing them down to the landing-place, remained behind. However, as the weather was favourable, and our crew was now ſtronger than when we were firſt driven out, we, in about five days time, returned again to an anchor at Tinian, and relieved thoſe we had left behind us from their ſecond fears of being deſerted by their ſhip.

On our arrival, we found that the Spaniſh bark, the old object of their hopes, had undergone a new metamorphoſis: for thoſe on ſhore, deſpairing of our return, and conceiving that the lengthening the bark, as formerly propoſed, was both a toilſome and unneceſſary meaſure, conſidering the ſmall number they conſiſted of, they had reſolved to join her again, and to reſtore her to her firſt ſtate; and in this ſcheme they had made ſome progreſs.

Theſe people we had left behind informed us, that, juſt before we were ſeen in the offing, two proas had ſtood in very near the ſhore, and had continued there for ſome time; but, on the appearance of our ſhip, they crowded away, and were preſently out of ſight. And, on this occaſion, I muſt mention an incident, which, though it happened during the firſt abſence of the ſhip, was then omitted, to avoid interrupting the courſe of the narration.

It hath been already obſerved, that a part of the detachment ſent to this iſland under the command of the Spaniſh ſerjeant, lay concealed in the woods: indeed we were the leſs ſolicitous to find them out, as our priſoners all aſſured us, that it was impoſſible for them to get off, and conſequently that it was impoſſible for them to ſend any intelligence about us to Guam. But when the Centurion drove out to ſea, and left the commodore on ſhore, he one day, at-

tended by ſome of his officers, endeavoured to make the tour of the iſland: in this expedition, being on a riſing ground, they obſerved in the valley beneath them the appearance of a ſmall thicket, which, by attending to more nicely, they found had a progreſſive motion: this at firſt ſurpriſed them; but they ſoon perceived that it was no more than ſeveral large cocoa buſhes, which were dragged along the ground by perſons concealed beneath them. They immediately concluded that theſe were ſome of the ſerjeant's party; and therefore the commodore and his people made after them, in hopes of tracing out their retreat. The Indians, remarking that they were diſcovered, hurried away with precipitation; but Mr. Anſon was ſo near them, that he did not loſe ſight of them till they arrived at their cell, which he and his officers entering, found to be abandoned, there being a paſſage from it, which had been contrived for the conveniency of flight, and which led down a precipice. They here met with an old firelock or two, but no other arms. However, there was a great quantity of proviſions, particularly ſalted ſparibs of pork, which were excellent; and it being about noon, the Indians had laid out a very plentiful repaſt, conſidering their numbers, and had their bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts prepared ready for eating, in a manner too which plainly evinced, that with them a good meal was neither an uncommon nor an unheeded article. The commodore having in vain ſearched after the path by which the Indians had eſcaped, he and his officers contented themſelves with ſitting down to the dinner, which was thus luckily fitted to their preſent hunger; after which they returned back to their old habitation.

On our coming to an anchor again, after our ſecond driving off to ſea, we laboured indefatigably at getting in our water; and having, by the 20th of October, compleated it to fifty tons, which we ſuppoſed would be ſufficient during our paſſage to Macao,

cao, we, on the next day, ſent one of each meſs on ſhore to gather as large a quantity of oranges, lemons, cocoa-nuts, and other fruits of the iſland, as they poſſibly could, for the uſe of themſelves and their meſſmates when at ſea. And theſe purveyors returning on the evening of the ſame day, we then ſet fire to the bark and proa, hoiſted in our boats, and got under ſail, ſteering away toward the ſouth end of the iſland of Formoſa, and taking our leaves, for the third and laſt time, of the iſland of Tinian.

And now, poſtponing for a ſhort time our run to Formoſa, and thence to Canton, I ſhall interrupt the narration with a deſcription of that range of iſlands, uſually called the Ladrones, or Marian iſlands, of which this of Tinian is one.

Theſe iſlands were diſcovered by Magellan in the year 1521; and from the account given of the two he firſt fell in with, it ſhould ſeem that they were thoſe of Saypan and Tinian; for they are deſcribed as very beautiful iſlands, and as lying between 15 and 16 degrees of north latitude. Theſe characteriſtics are particularly applicable to the two above-mentioned places; for the pleaſing appearance of Tinian hath occaſioned the Spaniards to give it the additional name of Buenaviſta; and Saypan, which is in the latitude of 15° 22′ north, affords no contemptible proſpect when ſeen at ſea.

There are uſually reckoned twelve of theſe iſlands; but if the ſmall iſlets and rocks are counted, their whole number will amount to above twenty. They were formerly, moſt of them, well-inhabited; but now Guam alone can properly be ſaid to be inhabited. This iſland of Guam is the only ſettlement of the Spaniards; here they keep a governor and garriſon, and here the Manila ſhip generally touches for refreſhment, in her paſſage from Acapulco to the Philippines. The Spaniſh troops employed at this iſland conſiſt of three companies of foot, betwixt forty and fifty men each; and this is the principal

ſtrength

ſtrength the governor has to depend on; for he cannot rely on any aſſiſtance from the Indian inhabitants, being generally upon ill terms with them, and ſo apprehenſive of them, that he has debarred them the uſe of both fire-arms and lances.

The reſt of theſe iſlands, though not inhabited, do yet abound with many kinds of refreſhment and proviſion; but here is no good harbour, or road amongſt them all: of that of Tinian we have treated largely already; nor is the road of Guam much better; ſince it is not uncommon for the Manila ſhip, though ſhe propoſes to ſtay there but twenty-four hours, to be forced to ſea, and to leave her boat behind her.

From what has been ſaid it appears, that the Spaniards on the iſland of Guam are extremely few, compared to the Indian inhabitants; and formerly the diſproportion was ſtill greater, as may be eaſily conceived from the account given of the numbers heretofore on Tinian alone. Theſe Indians are a bold, ſtrong, well-limbed people; and, as it ſhould ſeem from ſome of their practices, are no ways defective in underſtanding; for their flying proas in particular, which, during ages paſt, have been the only veſſels employed by them, are ſo ſingular and extraordinary an invention, that it would do honour to any nation, however dextrous and acute. As former navigators, though they have mentioned theſe veſſels, have yet treated of them imperfectly, and as, beſide their curioſity, they may furniſh both the ſhip-wright and ſeaman with no contemptible obſervations; I ſhall here inſert a deſcription of the built, rigging, and working of theſe veſſels, which I am the better enabled to perform, as one of them fell into our hands on our firſt arrival at Tinian, and Mr. Brett took it to pieces, that he might delineate its fabric and dimenſions with greater accuracy.

The name of flying proa, appropriated to theſe veſſels, is owing to the ſwiftneſs with which they ſail. Of this the Spaniards aſſert ſuch ſtories, as muſt ap-

pear altogether incredible to one who has never ſeen theſe veſſels move; nor are they the only people who recount theſe extraordinary tales of their celerity. For thoſe who ſhall have the curioſity to enquire at Portſmouth dock, about an experiment tried there ſome years ſince, with a very imperfect one built at that place, will meet with accounts not leſs wonderful than any the Spaniards have related. However, from ſome rude eſtimations made by us, of the velocity with which they croſſed the horizon at a diſtance, while we lay at Tinian; with a briſk trade-wind they will run near twenty miles an hour.

The conſtruction of this proa is a direct contradiction to the practice of all the reſt of mankind. For as it is cuſtomary to make the head of the veſſel different from the ſtern, but the two ſides alike; the proa, on the contrary, has her head and ſtern exactly alike, but her two ſides very different: the ſide, intended to be always on the lee-ſide, being flat; whilſt the windward is built rounding, in the manner of other veſſels: and, to prevent her overſetting, which from her ſmall breadth, and the ſtraight run of her leeward ſide, would, without this precaution, infallibly happen, there is a frame laid out from her to windward, to the end of which is faſtened a log, faſhioned into the ſhape of a ſmall boat, and made hollow: the weight of the frame is intended to balance the proa, and the ſmall boat is by its buoyancy (as it is always in the water) to prevent her overſetting to windward; and this frame is uſually called an outrigger. The body of the proa (at leaſt of that we took) is formed of two pieces joined end-ways, and ſewed together with bark, for there is no iron uſed in her conſtruction: ſhe is about two inches thick at the bottom, which at the gunwale is reduced to leſs than one. On the middle outrigger the maſt is fixed; and is ſupported by a ſhroud, and by two ſtays. The ſail is of matting, and the maſt, yard, boom, and outriggers, are all made of bamboo: the heel of the

the yard is always lodged in a ſocket, according to the tack the proa goes on; and when ſhe alters her tack, they bear away a little to bring her ſtern up to the wind, then by eaſing the halyard, and raiſing the yard, carrying the heel of it along the lee-ſide of the proa, they fix it in the oppoſite ſocket; whilſt the boom at the ſame time, is ſhifted into a contrary ſituation to what it had before, and that which was the ſtern of the proa, now becomes the head, and ſhe is trimmed on the other tack. When it is neceſſary to reef or furl the ſail, this is done by rolling it round the boom. The proa generally carries ſix or ſeven Indians; two of which are placed in the head and ſtern, who ſteer the veſſel alternately with a paddle according to the tack ſhe goes on; he in the ſtern being the ſteerſman; the other Indians are employed either in bailing out the water which ſhe accidentally ſhips, or in ſetting and trimming the ſail. From the deſcription of theſe veſſels it is ſufficiently obvious, how dextrouſly they are fitted for ranging this collection of iſlands called the Ladrones; ſince as theſe iſlands bear nearly north and ſouth of each other, and are all within the limits of the trade-wind; the proas, by ſailing moſt excellently on a wind, and with either end foremoſt, can run from one of theſe iſlands to the other and back again, only by ſhifting the ſail, without ever putting about; and, by the flatneſs of their lee ſide, and their ſmall breadth, they are capable of lying much nearer the wind than any other veſſel hitherto known, and thereby have an advantage, which no veſſels that go large can ever pretend to; that of running with a velocity nearly as great, and perhaps ſometimes greater than what the wind blows with. This, however paradoxical it may appear, is evident enough in ſimilar inſtances on ſhore: ſince it is well known, that the ſails of a wind-mill often move faſter than the wind; and one great ſuperiority of common wind-mills over all others, that ever were, or ever will be contrived to move

move with an horizontal motion, is analogous to the caſe we have mentioned of a veſſel upon a wind and before the wind: for the ſails of an horizontal wind-mill, the faſter they move, the more they detract from the impulſe of the wind upon them; whereas the common wind-mills, by moving perpendicular to the torrent of air, are nearly as forcibly acted on by the wind, when they are in motion, as when they are at reſt.

Some obſcure reſemblance to theſe veſſels are to be met with in various parts of the Eaſt Indies, but none of them to be compared with thoſe of the Ladrones, either for conſtruction or celerity.

On the 21ſt of October, in the evening, we took our leave of the iſland of Tinian, ſteering the proper courſe for Macao in China. The eaſtern monſoon was now, we reckoned, fairly ſettled; and we had a conſtant gale blowing right a-ſtern: ſo that we generally ran from forty to fifty leagues a day. But we had a large hollow ſea purſuing us, which occaſioned the ſhip to labour much: whence our leak was augmented, and we received great damage in our rigging, which by this time was grown very rotten: however, our people were now happily in full health; ſo that all went through their attendance on every duty of the ſhip, with eaſe and chearfulneſs.

Before we left Tinian we ſwept for our beſt and ſmall bower, and employed the Indians to dive in ſearch of them; but all to no purpoſe: hence except our prize-anchors, which were too light to be depended on, we had only our ſheet-anchor left. However, two of our largeſt prize-anchors being fixed into one ſtock, placing between their ſhanks two four pounders, ſerved as a beſt bower: and a third prize-anchor being in like manner joined to our ſtream-anchor, with guns between them, made us a ſmall bower: ſo that, beſide our ſheet-anchor, we had

again two others at our bows, one of which weighed 3900, and the other 2900 pounds.

The 3d of November, about three in the afternoon, we ſaw an iſland, which at firſt we imagined to be Botel Tobago Xima: but on our nearer approach we found it to be much ſmaller than that is uſually repreſented; and about an hour after we ſaw another iſland, five or ſix miles farther to the weſtward. The next morning, by eleven, we got a ſight of the ſouthern part of the iſland of Formoſa. This ſatisfied us that the ſecond iſland we ſaw was Botel Tobago Xima, and the firſt a ſmall iſlet or rock, lying five or ſix miles due eaſt of it, not mentioned in any of our books or charts.

When we had made the iſland of Formoſa, we ſteered weſt by ſouth, in order to double its extremity, and kept a good look-out for the rocks of Vele Rete, which we did not diſcover till two in the afternoon. To give theſe rocks a good birth, we immediately haled up ſouth by weſt, and ſo left them between us and the land. Indeed we had reaſon to be careful of them; for though they appeared as high out of the water as a ſhip's hull, yet they are environed with breakers on all ſides, and there is a ſhoal ſtretching from them at leaſt a mile and a half to the ſouthward, whence they may be truly called dangerous. The ſouth end of Formoſa, off which they lie, is in the latitude of 21° : 50′ north, and, according to our moſt approved reckonings, in 23° 50′ weſt longitude from Tinian. From Formoſa we ſteered weſt north weſt, and ſometimes ſtill more northerly, propoſing to fall in with the coaſt of China, to the eaſtward of Pedro Blanco; as the rock ſo called is uſually eſteemed an excellent direction for ſhips bound to Macao: but it was the 5th of November, at nine in the morning, before we ſtruck ground, and then we had forty-two fathom and a bottom of gray ſand mixed with ſhells. About midnight we got

ſight

ſight of the main land of China, bearing north by weſt four leagues diſtant. We then brought the ſhip to, with her head to the ſea, propoſing to wait for the morning; and before ſunriſe we were ſurpriſed to find ourſelves in the midſt of an incredible number of fiſhing-boats, which ſeemed to cover the ſurface of the ſea as far as the eye could reach, moſt of them manned with five hands, and none of thoſe we ſaw with leſs than three. Nor was this ſwarm of fiſhing veſſels peculiar to that ſpot; for as we ran on to the weſtward, we found them as abundant on every part of the coaſt. We at firſt doubted not but we ſhould procure a pilot from them to carry us to Macao; but though many of them came cloſe to the ſhip, and we endeavoured to tempt them by ſhewing them a number of dollars, a moſt alluring bait for Chineſe of all ranks and profeſſions, yet we could not entice them on board us, nor procure any directions from them; though, I preſume, the only difficulty was their not comprehending what we wanted. But what ſurpriſed us moſt was the inattention and want of curioſity, which we obſerved in this herd of fiſhermen. A ſhip like ours had doubtleſs never been in thoſe ſeas before; and perhaps there might not be one, amongſt all the Chineſe, employed in that fiſhery, who had ever ſeen any European veſſel; ſo that we might reaſonably have expected to have been conſidered by them as a very uncommon and extraordinary object. But though many of their boats came cloſe to us, yet they did not appear to be at all intereſted about us, nor did they deviate in the leaſt from their courſe to regard us. Which inſenſibility, eſpecially of maritime perſons, in a matter relating to their own profeſſion, is ſcarcely to be credited, did not the general behaviour of the Chineſe, in other inſtances, furniſh us with continual proofs of a ſimilar turn of mind.

Not being able to procure any information from the Chineſe fiſhermen about our proper courſe to Macao,

Macao, it was neceſſary for us to rely entirely on our own judgment. And for the aſſiſtance of future navigators, it may be obſerved, that beſide the latitude of Pedro Blanco, which is 22° 18′, and the depth of water, which to the weſtward of that rock is almoſt every where twenty fathoms, there is another circumſtance which will be greatly aſſiſtant in judging of the poſition of the ſhip: this is the kind of ground; for, till we came within thirty miles of Pedro Blanco, we had conſtantly a ſandy bottom; but there the bottom changed to ſoft and muddy, and continued ſo quite to the iſland of Macao; only while we were in ſight of Pedro Blanco, and very near it, we had for a ſhort ſpace a bottom of greeniſh mud, intermixed with ſand.

Pedro Blanco is a rock of a ſmall circumference, but of a moderate height, reſembling a ſugar-loaf, both in ſhape and colour, and is about ſeven or eight miles diſtant from the ſhore. We paſſed within a mile and a half of it, and left it between us and the land, ſtill keeping on to the weſtward; and the next day, being the 7th, we were a-breaſt of a chain of iſlands, which ſtretched from eaſt to weſt. Theſe, as we afterwards found, were called the iſlands of Lema; they are rocky and barren, and are, in all, ſmall and great, fifteen or ſixteen; but there are, beſide, many more between them and the main land of China. Being ſtill ſurrounded by fiſhing boats, we once more ſent the cutter on board ſome of them, to endeavour to procure a pilot, but we could not prevail; however, one of the Chineſe directed us by ſigns to ſail round the weſtermoſt of the iſlands or rocks of Lema, and then to hale up. We followed this direction, and in the evening came to an anchor in eighteen fathom.

After having continued at anchor all night, we, on the 9th, at four in the morning, ſent our cutter to ſound the channel, but before the return of the cutter, a Chineſe pilot put on board the Centurion,

and

and told us in broken Portugueſe, he would carry the ſhip to Macao for thirty dollars: theſe were immediately paid him, and we then weighed and made ſail. Soon after, ſeveral other pilots came on board, who, to recommend themſelves, produced certificates from the captains of many European ſhips they had piloted in, but we ſtill continued under the management of the Chineſe whom we at firſt engaged. By this time we learnt, that we were not far diſtant from Macao, and that there were in the river of Canton, at the mouth of which Macao lies, eleven European ſhips, of which four were Engliſh. Our pilot carried us between the iſlands of Bamboo and Cabouce; but the winds hanging in the northern board, and the tides often ſetting ſtrongly againſt us, we were obliged to come frequently to an anchor; ſo that we did not get through between the two iſlands till the 12th of November, at two in the morning. On the 13th, at ten o'clock, we happily anchored in Macao road, in five fathom water, the city of Macao bearing weſt by north, three leagues diſtant; the peak of Lantoon eaſt by north, and the grand Ladrone ſouth by eaſt, each of them about five leagues diſtant. Thus, after a fatiguing cruiſe of above two years continuance, we once more arrived at an amicable port, and a civilized country; where the conveniencies of life were in great plenty; where the naval ſtores, which we now extremely wanted, could be in ſome degree procured; where we expected the inexpreſſible ſatisfaction of receiving letters from our relations and friends; and where our countrymen, who were lately arrived from England, would be capable of anſwering the numerous enquiries we were prepared to make, after the long ſuſpenſion of our correſpondence with our country.

The city of Macao, in the road of which we came to an anchor on the 12th of November, is a Portugueſe ſettlement, ſituated in an iſland at the entrance of the river of Canton. It was formerly very rich

and populous, and capable of defending itſelf againſt the power of the adjacent Chineſe governors: but at preſent, though it is inhabited by Portugueſe, and hath a governor nominated by the king of Portugal, yet it ſubſiſts merely by the ſuffrance of the Chineſe, who can ſtarve the place, and diſpoſſeſs the Portugueſe whenever they pleaſe. The river of Canton, off the mouth of which this city lies, is the only Chineſe port frequented by European ſhips; and is, on many accounts, a more commodious harbour than Macao: but the peculiar cuſtoms of the Chineſe, ſolely adapted to the entertainment of trading ſhips, and the apprehenſions of the commodore, leſt he ſhould embroil the Eaſt India company with the regency of Canton, if he ſhould inſiſt on being treated upon a different footing than the merchantmen, made him reſolve rather to go to Macao, than to venture into the river of Canton. Indeed, had not this reaſon prevailed with him, he himſelf had nothing to fear. For it is certain that he might have entered the port of Canton, and might have continued there as long as he pleaſed, and afterward have left it again, although the whole power of the Chineſe empire had been brought together to oppoſe him.

The commodore, not to depart from his uſual prudence, no ſooner came to an anchor in Macao road, than he diſpatched an officer with his compliments to the Portugueſe governor of Macao, requeſting his excellency, by the ſame officer, to adviſe him in what manner it would be proper to act, to avoid offending the Chineſe; which, as there were then four of our ſhips in their power at Canton, was a matter worthy of attention. The difficulty, which the commodore principally apprehended, related to the duty uſually paid by ſhips in the river of Canton, according to their tonnage. For, as men of war are exempted in every foreign harbour from all manner of port charges, the commodore thought it would be derogatory to the honour of his country

try to ſubmit to this duty in China: and therefore he deſired the advice of the governor of Macao, who, being an European, could not be ignorant of the privileges claimed by a Britiſh man of war. Our boat returned in the evening with two officers ſent by the governor, who informed the commodore, that it was the governor's opinion, that if the Centurion ventured into the river of Canton, the duty would certainly be expected; and therefore, if the commodore approved of it, he would ſend him a pilot, who ſhould conduct us into another ſafe harbour called the Typa, and where, in all probability, the aboye-mentioned duty would never be demanded.

This propoſal the commodore agreed to, and in the morning weighed anchor, under the direction of the Portugueſe pilot, and ſteered for the intended harbour; where we moored in about five fathom water. This harbour of the Typa is formed by a number of iſlands, and is about ſix miles diſtant from Macao. Here we ſaluted the caſtle of Macao with eleven guns, which was returned by an equal number.

The next day the commodore paid a viſit in perſon to the governor, and was ſaluted at his landing by eleven guns, which were returned by the Centurion. Mr. Anſon's buſineſs in this viſit was to ſolicit the governor to grant us a ſupply both of proviſions and of ſuch naval ſtores as were neceſſary to refit the ſhip. The governor ſeemed really inclined to do us all the ſervice he could; but he, at the ſame time, frankly owned, that he dared not openly to furniſh us with any thing we demanded, unleſs we firſt produced an order for it from the viceroy of Canton: ſince he himſelf neither received proviſions for his garriſon, nor any other neceſſaries, but by permiſſion from the Chineſe government; and they took care only to victual him from day to day.

On this declaration of the governor, Mr. Anſon reſolved himſelf to go to Canton, to procure a licence from the viceroy; and he accordingly hired a

Chineſe boat for himſelf and his attendants; but juſt as he was ready to embark, the Hoppo, or Chineſe cuſtom-houſe officer of Macao, refuſed to grant a permit to the boat, and ordered the watermen not to proceed at their peril. The commodore at firſt endeavoured to prevail with the Hoppo to withdraw his injunction, and to grant a permit; and the governor of Macao employed his intereſt to the ſame purpoſe. But the officer continuing inflexible, Mr. Anſon told him, the next day, that if the permit was any longer refuſed, he would man and arm the Centurion's boats; aſking him, at the ſame time, who he imagined would dare to oppoſe them in their paſſage. This threat immediately brought about what his entreaties had endeavoured at in vain: the permit was granted, and Mr. Anſon went to Canton. On his arrival there, he conſulted with the ſuper-cargoes and officers of the Engliſh ſhips, how to procure an order from the viceroy for the neceſſaries he wanted: but in this he had reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the advice they gave him, though well intended, was yet not the moſt prudent: for as it is the cuſtom with theſe gentlemen, never to apply to the ſupreme magiſtrate himſelf, but to tranſact all matters relating to the government, by the mediation of the Chineſe merchants; Mr. Anſon was perſuaded to follow the ſame method upon this occaſion. Indeed, when the Chineſe merchants were ſpoke to, they readily undertook the management of this buſineſs, and promiſed to anſwer for its ſucceſs; but after near a month's delay, during which interval they pretended to be often upon the point of completing it, they at laſt, when they were preſſed, and meaſures were taken for delivering a letter to the viceroy, threw off the maſk, and declared they neither had made application to the viceroy, nor could they; as he was too great a man, for them to approach on any occaſion: and not contented with having themſelves thus groſsly deceived the commodore, they now uſed all their perſuaſion

with the Engliſh at Canton, to prevent them from intermeddling with any thing that regarded him; repreſenting to them, that it would in all probability embroil them with the government, and occaſion them a great deal of trouble.

Mr. Anſon then told them, that he would proceed to Batavia, and refit his ſhip there; but informed them, at the ſame time, that this was impoſſible to be done, unleſs he was ſupplied with a ſtock of proviſions ſufficient for his paſſage. The merchants, on this, undertook to procure him proviſions, though they aſſured him, that it was what they durſt not engage in openly, but propoſed to manage it by putting a quantity of bread, flour, and other proviſion, on board the Engliſh ſhips, which were now ready to ſail; and theſe were to ſtop at the mouth of the Typa, where the Centurion's boats were to receive them. This article, which the merchants repreſented as a matter of great favour, being ſettled, the commodore, on the 16th of December, came back from Canton to the ſhip.

But Mr. Anſon (who never intended going to Batavia) found, on his return to the Centurion, that her main-maſt was ſprung in two places, and that the leak was conſiderably increaſed; ſo that, upon the whole, he was fully ſatisfied, that though he ſhould lay in a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions, yet it would be impoſſible for him to put to ſea without refitting: and therefore, notwithſtanding the difficulties he had met with, he reſolved at all events to have her hove down, before he departed from Macao. He was fully convinced, by what he had obſerved at Canton, that his great caution not to injure the Eaſt India company's affairs had occaſioned all his perplexity. For he now ſaw clearly, that if he had at firſt carried his ſhip into the river of Canton, and addreſſed himſelf to the Mandarines, who are the chief officers of ſtate; he would, in all probability, have had all his requeſts granted. He had already loſt a month by the wrong meaſures he had purſued, but he reſolved

to loſe as little more time as poſſible; therefore, the 17th of December, being the next day after his return from Canton, he wrote a letter to the viceroy of that place, acquainting him that he was commander in chief of a ſquadron of his Britannic majeſty's ſhips of war, which had been cruiſing for two years paſt in the South Seas againſt the Spaniards, who were at enmity with the king his maſter; that on his way back to England he had put into the port of Macao, having a conſiderable leak in his ſhip, and being in great want of proviſions, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to proceed on his voyage till his ſhip was repaired, and he was ſupplied with the neceſſaries he wanted: that he had been at Canton, in hopes of being admitted to a perſonal audience of his excellency; but being a ſtranger to the cuſtoms of the country, he had not been able to inform himſelf what ſteps were neceſſary to be taken to procure ſuch an audience: that therefore he was obliged to apply in this manner, to deſire his excellency to give orders for his being permitted to employ carpenters and proper workmen to refit his ſhip, and to furniſh himſelf with proviſions and ſtores, that he might be enabled to purſue his voyage to Great Britain. Hoping, at the ſame time, that theſe orders would be iſſued with as little delay as poſſible, leſt it might occaſion his loſs of the ſeaſon, and he might be prevented from departing till the next winter.

This letter was tranſlated into the Chineſe language, and the commodore delivered it himſelf to the Hoppo, or chief officer of the emperor's cuſtoms at Macao, deſiring him to forward it to the viceroy of Canton, with as much expedition as he could. The officer at firſt ſeemed unwilling to take charge of it, and raiſed many difficulties about it; therefore the commodore, not without ſome reſentment, took back his letter, and told him, he would immediately ſend it to Canton in his own boat, and would give his officer poſitive orders not to return without an anſwer

from the viceroy. The Hoppo perceiving the commodore to be in earneſt, and fearing to be called to an account for his refuſal, begged to be entruſted with the letter, and promiſed to deliver it, and to procure an anſwer as ſoon as poſſible.

And now it was preſently ſeen how juſtly Mr. Anſon had at laſt judged of the proper manner of dealing with the Chineſe; for this letter was written but the 17th of December, as hath been already obſerved; and on the 19th in the morning, a Mandarine of the firſt rank, who was governor of the city of Janſon, together with two Mandarines of an inferior claſs, and a conſiderable retinue of officers and ſervants, having with them eighteen half gallies furniſhed with muſic, and decorated with a great number of ſtreamers, and full of men, came to grapnel a-head of the Centurion; whence the Mandarine ſent a meſſage to the commodore, telling him that he was ordered by the viceroy of Canton, to examine the condition of the ſhip. The Centurion's boat was immediately diſpatched, and preparations were made for receiving him; in particular a hundred of the moſt ſightly of the crew were uniformly dreſſed in the regimentals of the marines, and were drawn up under arms on the main-deck, againſt his arrival. When he entered the ſhip he was ſaluted by the military muſic there was on board; and paſſing the new formed guard, he was met by the commodore on the quarter-deck, who conducted him to the great cabbin. Here the Mandarine explained his commiſſion, declaring, that he was directed to examine all the articles mentioned in the commodore's letter to the viceroy; that he had every head of enquiry ſeparately wrote down on a ſheet of paper, with a void ſpace oppoſite to it, where he was to inſert ſuch information as he could procure by his own obſervation.

This Mandarine appeared to be a perſon of conſiderable parts, and endowed with more frankneſs and

honeſty than is to be found in the generality of the Chineſe. After the neceſſary inſpections had been made, particularly about the leak, which the Chineſe carpenters reported to be to the full as dangerous as it had been deſcribed; the Mandarine expreſſed himſelf ſatisfied with the account given in the commodore's letter. And this magiſtrate, as he was more intelligent than any other perſon of his nation that came to our knowlege, ſo likewiſe was he more curious and inquiſitive; viewing each part of the ſhip with extraordinary attention, and appearing greatly ſurpriſed at the largeneſs of the lower deck guns, and at the weight and ſize of the ſhot. The commodore, obſerving his aſtoniſhment, thought this a proper opportunity to convince the Chineſe of the prudence of granting him all his demands in the moſt ſpeedy and ample manner. He therefore told the Mandarine, and thoſe who were with him, that, beſide the requeſt he made for a general licence, to furniſh himſelf with whatever his preſent ſituation required; he had a particular complaint to prefer againſt the proceedings of the cuſtom-houſe of Macao. That at his firſt arrival the Chineſe boats had brought on board him plenty of freſh proviſions for daily uſe; that though they had always been paid to their full ſatisfaction, yet the cuſtom-houſe officers at Macao had ſoon forbid them; that as they, the Mandarines, had informed themſelves of his wants, and were eye-witneſſes of the force and ſtrength of his ſhip, they might be ſatisfied it was not becauſe he had no power to ſupply himſelf, that he deſired the permiſſion of the government to purchaſe what proviſions he ſtood in need of; ſince he preſumed they were convinced that the Centurion alone was capable of deſtroying the whole navigation of the port of Canton, or of any other port in China: that it was true, this was not the manner of proceeding between nations in friendſhip with each other; but it was likewiſe true, that it was not cuſtomary for any nation

to

to permit the ſhips of their friends to ſtarve and ſink in their ports; when thoſe friends had money to purchaſe neceſſaries, and only deſired liberty to lay it out: that they muſt confeſs, he and his people had hitherto behaved with great modeſty and reſerve; but that neceſſity was ſuperior to every other law; and therefore it could not be expected that his crew would long continue to ſtarve in the midſt of that plenty to which their eyes were every day witneſſes. The firſt Mandarine acquieſced in the juſtneſs of this reaſoning, and told the commodore, that he ſhould that night proceed for Canton; that on his arrival a council of Mandarines would be ſummoned, of which he was a member, and that, by being employed in the preſent commiſſion, he was of courſe the commodore's advocate. That with regard to the commodore's complaint of the cuſtom-houſe of Macao, this he would undertake to rectify immediately by his own authority. Then deſiring a liſt to be given him of the quantity of proviſion neceſſary for the expence of the ſhip during one day, he wrote a permit under it, and delivered it to one of his attendants, directing him to ſee that quantity ſent on board early every morning; which order, from that time forward, was punctually complied with.

When this weighty affair was thus in ſome degree regulated, the commodore invited him, and his two attendant Mandarines, to dinner, telling them at the ſame time, that if his proviſion, either in kind or quantity, was not what they might expect, they muſt thank themſelves for having confined him to ſo hard an allowance. One of his diſhes was beef, which the Chineſe all diſlike, though Mr. Anſon was not apprized of it: this ſeems to be derived from the Indian ſuperſtition, which for ſome ages paſt has made a great progreſs in China. However, his gueſts did not entirely faſt; for the three Mandarines completely finiſhed the white part of four large fowls. They were indeed extremely embarraſſed with the knives

knives and forks, and were quite incapable of making uſe of them. But whatever difficulty they might have in complying with the European manner of eating, they ſeemed not to be novices at drinking. In this part of the entertainment the commodore excuſed himſelf, under the pretence of illneſs; but there being another gentleman preſent, of a florid and jovial complexion, the chief Mandarine clapped him on the ſhoulder, and told him by the interpreter, that certainly he could not plead ſickneſs, and therefore inſiſted on his bearing him company: and that gentleman perceiving, that after they had diſpatched four or five bottles of Frontiniac, the Mandarine ſtill continued unruffled, he ordered a bottle of citron water to be brought up, which the Chineſe ſeemed much to reliſh; and this being near finiſhed, they aroſe from table, in appearance cool and uninfluenced by what they had drank.

After their departure, the commodore with great impatience expected the reſolution of council, and the proper licences to enable him to refit the ſhip: for he could neither purchaſe ſtores nor neceſſaries, nor did any kind of workmen dare to engage themſelves in his ſervice, until the permiſſion of the government was firſt obtained. And in the execution of theſe particular injunctions, the magiſtrates never failed of exerciſing great ſeverity.

A ſhort time before this, captain Saunders took his paſſage to England on board a Swediſh ſhip, and was charged with diſpatches from the commodore; and in the month of December, captain Mitchel, colonel Cracherode, and Mr. Taſwel, one of the agent victuallers, with his nephew Mr. Charles Harriot, embarked on board ſome of our company's ſhips; and I, having obtained the commodore's leave to return home, embarked with them. I muſt obſerve too, that whilſt we lay at Macao, we were informed by the officers of our Indiamen, that the Severn and Pearl, the two ſhips of our ſquadron which

which had ſeparated from us off Cape Noir, were ſafely arrived at Rio Janeiro on the coaſt of Braſil: it was with great joy we received the news of their ſafety, after the ſtrong perſuaſion, which had ſo long prevailed amongſt us, of their having both periſhed.

Notwithſtanding the favourable diſpoſition of the Mandarine governor of Janſon, at his leaving Mr. Anſon, ſeveral days elapſed before there was any advice from him; and Mr. Anſon was privately informed there were great debates in council upon his affair; partly perhaps owing to its being ſo unuſual a caſe, and in part to the intrigues of the French at Canton. Indeed this oppoſition of the French was not merely the effect of national prejudice, or a contrariety of political intereſts; but was in a good meaſure owing to vanity. For, the French pretending their Indiamen to be men of war, their officers were apprehenſive, that any diſtinction granted to Mr. Anſon, on account of his bearing the king's commiſſion, would render them leſs conſiderable in the eyes of the Chineſe, and would eſtabliſh a prepoſſeſſion at Canton in favour of ſhips of war, by which they, as trading veſſels, would ſuffer in their importance. And it would have been well if the fear of ſinking in the eſtimation of the Chineſe, if the Centurion was treated in a manner different from themſelves, had been confined to the officers of the French ſhips only. However, notwithſtanding all theſe obſtacles, it ſhould ſeem, that the repreſentation of the commodore to the Mandarines, of the facility with which he could right himſelf, if juſtice were denied him, had at laſt its effect: ſince on the 6th of January, in the morning, the governor of Janſon, the commodore's advocate, ſent down the viceroy of Canton's warrant for the refitment of the Centurion, and for ſupplying her people with all they wanted. Having now the neceſſary licences, a number of Chineſe ſmiths and carpenters went on board the next day to treat about the work

work they were to do; all which they propoſed to undertake by the great.

The commodore next exerted himſelf to get the moſt important buſineſs of the whole compleated; the heaving down the Centurion, and examining the ſtate of her bottom. The firſt lieutenant therefore was diſpatched to Canton, to hire two junks, one of them being intended to heave down by, and the other to ſerve as a magazine for the powder and ammunition: whilſt at the ſame time, on one of the neighbouring iſlands, a large tent was pitched for lodging the lumber and proviſions, and near a hundred Chineſe caulkers ſet to work on the decks and ſides of the ſhip. But all theſe preparations took up a great deal of time; for the Chineſe caulkers, though they worked very well, were far from being expeditious. Beſide, the neceſſary materials, which were to be purchaſed at Canton, came down very ſlowly; partly from the diſtance of the place, and partly from the delays and backwardneſs of the Chineſe merchants. And in this interval Mr. Anſon had the additional perplexity to diſcover, that his fore-maſt was broken aſunder above the upper-deck partners, and was only kept together by the fiſhes which had been formerly clapt upon it.

However, the Centurion's people made the moſt of their time, and exerted themſelves the beſt they could; and as, by clearing the ſhip, the carpenters were enabled to come at the leak, they took care to ſecure that effectually, whilſt the other preparations were going forward. On the 22d of February, in the morning, they hove out the firſt courſe of the Centurion's ſtar-board ſide, and continued heaving down, and often righting the ſhip from a ſuſpicion of their careening tackle, till the 3d of March, when, having compleated the paying and ſheathing the bottom, which proved to be every where ſound, they, for the laſt time, righted the ſhip, to their great joy; ſince

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not only the fatigue of careening had been conſiderable, but they had been apprehenſive of being attacked by the Spaniards, whilſt the ſhip was thus incapacitated for defence. Nor were their fears altogether groundleſs; for they learnt afterward, by a Portugueſe veſſel, that the Spaniards at Manila had been informed that the Centurion was in the Typa, and intended to careen there; and that thereupon the governor had ſummoned his council, and had propoſed to endeavour to burn her, whilſt ſhe was careening; an enterpriſe, which, if properly conducted, might have put them in great danger. It was further reported, that a captain of a veſſel had actually undertaken to perform the buſineſs for forty thouſand dollars, which he was not to receive, unleſs he ſucceeded: but the governor pretending that there was no treaſure in the royal cheſt, and inſiſting that the merchants ſhould advance the money, and they refuſing to comply with the demand, the affair was dropped.

It was the beginning of April when they had new rigged the ſhip, ſtowed their proviſions and water on board, and had fitted her for the ſea; and before this time the Chineſe grew very uneaſy, and extremely deſirous that ſhe ſhould be gone; a point the commodore was as eagerly ſet on as they could be. At length, about the third of April, two Mandarine boats came on board from Macao, to preſs him to leave their port; and this having been often urged before, Mr. Anſon, at this laſt meſſage, anſwered them in a determined tone, deſiring them to give him no further trouble, for he would go when he thought proper, and not ſooner. After this rebuke the Chineſe (though it was not in their power to compel him to depart) immediately prohibited all proviſions from being carried on board him, and took ſuch care their injunctions ſhould be complied with, that from thence forward nothing could be purchaſed at any rate whatever.

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The 6th of April, the Centurion weighed from the Typa, and warped to the ſouthward; and, by the 15th, ſhe was got into Macao road, completing her water as ſhe paſſed along: and her whole buſineſs being finiſhed by the 19th, ſhe, at three in the afternoon of that day, weighed and ſtood to ſea.

The commodore was now got to ſea, with his ſhip well refitted, his ſtores repleniſhed, and an additional ſtock of proviſions on board: his crew too was ſomewhat reinforced; for he had entered twenty-three men during his ſtay at Macao, the greateſt part of them Laſcars or Indian ſailors, and the reſt Dutch. He gave out at Macao, that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England. But his real deſign was of a very different nature. He ſuppoſed, that inſtead of one annual ſhip from Acapulco to Manila, there would be this year, in all probability, two; ſince, by being before Acapulco, he had prevented one of them from putting to ſea the preceding ſeaſon. He therefore, not diſcouraged by his former diſaſters, reſolved again to riſque the caſualties of the Pacific ocean, and to cruiſe for theſe returning veſſels off Cape Eſpiritu Santo, on the iſland of Samal, which is the firſt land they always make at the Philippine iſlands: and as June is generally the month in which they arrive there, he doubted not but he ſhould get to his intended ſtation time enough to intercept them. Indeed, at Macao it was incumbent on him to keep theſe views ſecret; for there being a great intercourſe and connexion of intereſts between that port and Manilla, he had reaſon to fear, that, if his deſigns were diſcovered, intelligence would be immediately ſent to Manilla, and meaſures would be taken to prevent the galeons from falling into his hands. But being now at ſea, and entirely clear of the coaſt, he ſummoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and informed them of his reſolution to cruiſe for the two Manila ſhips, of whoſe wealth they were not ignorant:

norant: he told them he ſhould chooſe a ſtation, where he could not fail of meeting with them; and though they were ſtout ſhips, and full manned, yet, if his own people behaved with their accuſtomed ſpirit, he was certain he ſhould prove too hard for them both, and that one of them at leaſt could not fail of becoming his prize.

The ſpeech of the commodore was received by his people with great joy. Since no ſooner he had ended, than they expreſſed their approbation, according to naval cuſtom, by three ſtrenuous cheers: and declared their determination to ſucceed, or periſh, whenever the opportunity preſented itſelf. And this confidence was ſo univerſally ſpread through the whole ſhip's company, that the commodore, who had taken ſome Chineſe ſheep to ſea with him for his own proviſion, enquiring one day of his butcher, why he had lately ſeen no mutton at his table, and aſking him if all the ſheep were killed; the fellow ſeriouſly replied, that there were indeed two ſheep left, but that if his honour would give him leave, he propoſed to keep thoſe for the entertainment of the general of the galeons.

When the Centurion left the port of Macao, ſhe ſtood for ſome days to the weſtward; and, on the firſt of May, they ſaw part of the iſland of Formoſa; and, ſteering thence to the ſouthward, they, on the 4th of May, were in the latitude of the Baſhee iſlands, as laid down by Dampier. After getting ſight of theſe iſlands, they ſtood between the ſouth and ſouth weſt for Cape Eſpiritu Santo; and, the 20th of May at noon, they firſt diſcovered that cape, which about four o'clock they brought to bear ſouth ſouth weſt, near eleven leagues diſtant. It appeared to be of a moderate height, with ſeveral round hummocks on it. As from this time there was but ſmall employment for the crew; the commodore ordered them almoſt every day to be exerciſed in the working of the great guns, and in the uſe of their ſmall arms. Indeed this had been

been his practice, more or leſs, at every convenient ſeaſon during the whole courſe of his voyage; and the advantages which he received from it, in his engagement with the galeon, were an ample recompenſe for all his care and attention. They were alſo conſtantly trained to fire at a mark, which was uſually hung at the yard-arm, and where ſome little reward was given to the moſt expert; and the whole crew, by this management, were rendered extremely ſkilful.

It was the laſt of May, N. S. when the Centurion arrived off Cape Eſpiritu Santo; and conſequently the next day the month began in which the galeons were to be expected. The commodore therefore made all neceſſary preparations for receiving them. All this time too he was very ſolicitous to keep at ſuch a diſtance from the cape, as not to be diſcovered. But it hath been ſince learnt, that notwithſtanding his care, he was ſeen from the land; and advice of him was ſent to Manila, where, though it was at firſt diſbelieved, yet, on repeated intelligence, the merchants were alarmed, and the governor was applied to; who undertook (the commerce ſupplying the neceſſary ſums) to fit out two ſhips of thirty-two guns, one of twenty guns, and two ſloops of ten guns each, to attack the Centurion on her ſtation. With this view ſome of theſe veſſels actually weighed; but the principal ſhip not being ready, and the monſoon being againſt them, the commerce and the governor diſagreed, ſo that the enterpriſe was laid aſide.

As the month of June advanced, the expectancy and impatience of the commodore's people were each day increaſed; and it may eaſily be conceived how anxiouſly they paſſed the latter part of their cruiſe, when the certainty of the arrival of thoſe veſſels was dwindled down to probability only, and that probability became each hour more and more doubtful. However, on the 20th of June O. S. being juſt a month after their gaining their ſtation, they were relieved

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out of this ſtate of uncertainty; for, at ſun-riſe, they diſcovered a ſail from the maſt-head, in the ſouth eaſt quarter. On this, a general joy ſpread through the whole ſhip; for they had no doubt but this was one of the galeons, and they expected ſoon to deſcry the other. The commodore inſtantly ſtood toward her, and at half an hour after ſeven they were near enough to ſee her from the Centurion's deck; at which time the galeon fired a gun, and took in her top-gallant ſails: this was ſuppoſed to be a ſignal to her conſort; and therefore the Centurion fired a gun to leeward, to amuſe her. The commodore was ſurpriſed to find, that during all this interval the galeon did not change her courſe, but continued to bear down upon him; for he hardly believed, what afterward appeared to be the caſe, that ſhe knew his ſhip to be the Centurion, and reſolved to fight him.

About noon the commodore was little more than a league diſtant from the galeon, and could fetch her wake, ſo that ſhe could not now eſcape. Mr. Anſon, in the mean time, had prepared all things for an engagement. He picked out above thirty of his choiceſt hands and beſt markſmen, whom he diſtributed into his tops, and who fully anſwered his expectations. And as he had not hands enough remaining to quarter a ſufficient number to each great gun, in the cuſtomary manner; he therefore, on his lower tire fixed only two men to each gun, who were to be ſolely employed in loading it, whilſt the reſt of his people, divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, were continually moving about the decks, to run out and fire ſuch guns as were loaded. By this management he was enabled to make uſe of all his guns; and inſtead of broad-ſides, he kept up a conſtant fire without intermiſſion; whence he doubted not to procure very ſignal advantages.

Toward one o'clock, the Centurion hoiſted her broad pendant and colours, ſhe being then within gun-ſhot of the enemy; and the commodore perceiving the Spaniards to have neglected clearing their

ſhip till that time, as he ſaw them throwing overboard cattle and lumber, he gave orders to fire upon them with the chace-guns, to diſturb them in their work. Soon after, the Centurion came a-breaſt of the enemy within piſtol-ſhot, keeping to the leeward of them, with a view of preventing their putting before the wind, and gaining the port of Jalapay, from which they were about ſeven leagues diſtant. And now the engagement began in earneſt. On the commencement of the action, the mats, with which the galeon had ſtuffed her netting, took fire, and burnt violently, blazing up half as high as the mizen top. This accident, ſuppoſed to be cauſed by the Centurion's wads, threw the enemy into the utmoſt terror, and alſo alarmed the commodore, leſt the galeon ſhould be burnt, and he himſelf too ſuffer by her driving on board him. However, the Spaniards at laſt freed themſelves from the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole maſs into the ſea. All this interval the Centurion kept firing her cannon with great regularity, for at leaſt half an hour; but then the Centurion loſt the ſuperiority ariſing from her original ſituation, and was cloſe along-ſide the galeon, and the enemy continued to fire briſkly for near an hour longer. Yet even in this poſture the commodore's grape-ſhot ſwept their decks ſo effectually, that they began to fall into great diſorder, eſpecially as the general, who was the life of the action, being wounded, was no longer capable of exerting himſelf. Therefore, after having, as a laſt effort, fired five or ſix guns with more judgment than uſual, they yielded up the conteſt; and the galeon's colours being ſinged off the enſign ſtaff in the beginning of the engagement, ſhe ſtruck the ſtandard at her main-top-gallant maſt-head.

Thus was the Centurion poſſeſſed of this rich prize, amounting in value to near a million and a half of dollars. She was called the Noſtra Signora de Cabadonga, and was commanded by general Don Jeronimo de Mentero, a Portugueſe, who was the moſt approved officer for ſkill and courage of any employ-

ed in that ſervice. The galeon was much larger than the Centurion; had five hundred and fifty men, and thirty-ſix guns mounted for action, beſide twenty-eight pedreroes in her gunwale, quarters, and tops, each of which carried a four pound ball. She was very well furniſhed with ſmall arms, and was particularly provided againſt boarding, both by her cloſe quarters, and by a ſtrong net-work of two inch-rope, which was laced over her waiſt, and was defended by half-pikes. She had ſixty-ſeven men killed in the action, and eighty-four wounded, whilſt the Centurion had only two killed, and a lieutenant and ſixteen wounded, all of whom but one recovered: of ſo little conſequence are the moſt deſtructive arms in untutored and unpractiſed hands.

The treaſure thus taken by the Centurion having been, for at leaſt eighteen months, the great object of their hope, it is impoſſible to deſcribe the tranſport on board, when, after all their reiterated diſappointments, they at laſt ſaw their wiſhes accompliſhed. But their joy was near being ſuddenly damped by a moſt tremendous incident: for no ſooner had the galeon ſtruck, than one of the lieutenants coming to Mr. Anſon to congratulate him on his prize, whiſpered him at the ſame time, that the Centurion was on fire near the powder-room. The commodore received this dreadful news without any apparent emotion, and taking care not to alarm his people, gave the neceſſary orders for extinguiſhing the fire, which was happily done in a ſhort time.

The commodore appointed the Manila veſſel to be a poſt ſhip in his majeſty's ſervice, and gave the command of her to Mr. Saumarez, his firſt lieutenant; who, before night, ſent on board the Centurion all the Spaniſh priſoners, except ſuch as were thought the moſt proper to be retained to aſſiſt in navigating the galeon. And now the commodore learnt, from ſome of theſe priſoners, that the other ſhip, which he had kept in the port of Acapulco the preceding year, inſtead of returning in company with the prize, as was expected;

had ſet ſail from Acapulco alone much ſooner than uſual, and had, in all probability, got into the port of Manila long before the Centurion arrived off Cape Eſpiritu Santo.

The commodore, when the action was ended, reſolved to make the beſt of his way with his prize for the river of Canton, being in the mean time fully employed in ſecuring his priſoners, and in removing the treaſure, from on board the galeon into the Centurion. The laſt of theſe operations was too important to be poſtponed; for as the navigation to Canton was through ſeas but little known, and where, from the ſeaſon of the year, very tempeſtuous weather might be expected, it was of great conſequence that the treaſure ſhould be ſent on board the Centurion; which ſhip, by the preſence of the commander in chief, the larger number of her hands, and her other advantages, was doubtleſs better provided againſt all the caſualties of winds and ſeas than the galeon: and the ſecuring the priſoners was a matter of ſtill more conſequence, as not only the poſſeſſion of the treaſure, but the lives of the captors depended thereon. This was indeed an article which gave the commodore much trouble and diſquietude, for they were above double the number of his own people; and ſome of them, when they were brought on board the Centurion, and had obſerved how ſlenderly ſhe was manned, and the large proportion which the ſtriplings bore to the reſt, could not help expreſſing themſelves with great indignation to be thus beaten by a handful of boys. The method which was taken to hinder them from riſing, was by placing all, but the officers and the wounded, in the hold, where, to give them as much air as poſſible, two hatch-ways were left open; but then (to avoid any danger that might happen, whilſt the Centurion's people might be employed upon deck) there was a ſquare partition of thick planks, made in the ſhape of a funnel, which encloſed each hatch-way on the lower deck and reached to that directly over it on the upper deck; theſe

funnels ſerved to communicate the air to the hold better than could have been done without them, and, at the ſame time, added greatly to the ſecurity of the ſhip; for they being ſeven or eight feet high, it would have been extremely difficult for the Spaniards to have clambered up; and ſtill to augment that difficulty, four ſwivel guns, loaded with muſquet-bullets, were planted at the mouth of each funnel, and a ſentinel with lighted match was poſted there ready to fire into the hold among them, in caſe of any diſturbance. Their officers, who amounted to ſeventeen or eighteen, were all lodged in the firſt lieutenant's cabbin, under a guard of ſix men; and the general, as he was wounded, lay in the commodore's cabbin with a ſentinel always over him; every priſoner too was ſufficiently appriſed, that any violence or diſturbance would be puniſhed with inſtant death. And, that the Centurion's people might be at all times prepared, if, notwithſtanding theſe regulations, any tumult ſhould ariſe, the ſmall arms were conſtantly kept loaded, whilſt all the men went armed with cutlaſſes and piſtols; and no officer pulled off his clothes when he ſlept; or, when he lay down, omitted to have his arms always ready by him.

Theſe meaſures were obviouſly neceſſary, conſidering the hazards to which the commodore and his people would have been expoſed, had they been leſs careful. Indeed, the ſufferings of the poor priſoners, though impoſſible to be alleviated, were much to be commiſerated; for the weather was extremely hot, the ſtench of the hold loathſome, beyond all conception, and their allowance of water but juſt ſufficient to keep them alive: it not being practicable to ſpare them more than at the rate of a pint a day for each, the crew themſelves having only an allowance of a pint and a half. All this conſidered, it was wonderful that not a man of them died during their long confinement, except three of the wounded, who expired the ſame night they were taken; though it muſt be confeſſed, that the greateſt part of them were ſtrange-

ly metamorphoſed by the heat of the hold; for when they were firſt brought on board, they were ſightly robuſt fellows; but when, after above a month's impriſonment, they were diſcharged in the river of Canton, they were reduced to mere ſkeletons.

Thus employed in ſecuring the treaſure and the priſoners, the commodore, as hath been ſaid, ſtood for the river of Canton; and, on the 11th of July, having taken on board two Chineſe pilots, one for the Centurion, and the other for the prize, they came to an anchor off the city of Macao.

This being the commodore's laſt prize, it appears, that all the treaſure taken by the Centurion was not much ſhort of 400,000 l. independent of the ſhips and merchandize, which ſhe either burnt or deſtroyed; and which, by the moſt reaſonable eſtimation, could not amount to ſo little as 600,000 l. more: ſo that the whole damage done the enemy by our ſquadron, did doubtleſs exceed a million ſterling. To which if there be added the great expence of the court of Spain, in fitting out Pizarro, and in paying the additional charges in America, incurred on our account, together with the loſs of their own men of war; the total of all theſe articles will be a moſt exorbitant ſum, and is the ſtrongeſt conviction of the utility of this expedition, which, with all its numerous diſadvantages, did yet prove ſo extremely prejudicial to the enemy.

Whilſt the Centurion and her prize were thus at anchor, a boat with an officer was ſent off from the Mandarine, commanding the forts at Bocca Tigris to examine what the ſhips were, and whence they came. Mr. Anſon informed the officer that his own ſhip was a man of war belonging to the king of Great Britain, and that the other in company with him was a prize he had taken; that he was going into Canton river to ſhelter himſelf againſt the hurricanes which were then approaching, and that as ſoon as the monſoon ſhifted he ſhould ſet ſail for England. The officer then deſired an account of what men, guns, and ammunition

munition were on board, a liſt of which he ſaid was to be ſent to the governor of Canton. But when theſe articles were repeated to him, particularly upon his being told that there were in the Centurion four hundred firelocks, and between three and four hundred barrels of powder, he ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, and ſeemed to be terrified with the bare recital; ſaying, that no ſhip ever came into Canton river armed in that manner; adding, that he durſt not ſet down the whole of his force, leſt it ſhould too much alarm the regency. After he had finiſhed his enquiries, and was preparing to depart, he deſired to leave two cuſtom-houſe officers behind him; on which the commodore told him, that though as a man of war he was prohibited from trading, and had nothing to do with cuſtoms or duties of any kind; yet for the ſatisfaction of the Chineſe, he would permit two of their people to be left on board, who might themſelves be witneſſes how punctually he ſhould comply with his inſtructions. The officer ſeemed amazed when Mr. Anſon mentioned being exempted from all duties, and anſwered, that the emperor's duty muſt be paid by every ſhip that came into his ports: and it is ſuppoſed, that on this occaſion, private directions were given by him to the Chineſe pilot, not to carry the commodore through the Bocca Tigris; which makes it neceſſary, more particularly, to deſcribe that entrance.

The Bocca Tigris is a narrow paſſage, little more than muſquet-ſhot over, formed by two points of land, on each of which there is a fort, that on the ſtarboard ſide being a battery on the water's edge, with eighteen embraſures, but where there were no more than twelve iron cannon mounted, ſeeming to be four or ſix pounders; the fort on the larboard ſide is a large caſtle, ſituated on a high rock, and did not appear to be furniſhed with more than eight or ten cannon, none of which were ſuppoſed to exceed ſix-pounders. Theſe are the defences which ſecure the river of Canton; and which the Chineſe imagined were ſufficient to prevent an enemy from forcing through.

But it is obvious, from the deſcription of theſe forts, that they could have given no obſtruction to Mr. Anſon's paſſage, even if they had been well ſupplied with gunners and ſtores; and therefore, though the pilot, after the Chineſe officer had been on board, refuſed at firſt to take charge of the ſhip till he had leave from the forts; yet, as it was neceſſary to get through without any delay, for fear of the bad weather which was hourly expected, the commodore weighed on the 15th, and ordered the pilot to carry him by the forts, threatening him, that if the ſhip ran a-ground, he would inſtantly hang him up at the yard-arm. The pilot, awed by theſe threats, carried the ſhip through ſafely, the forts not attempting to diſpute the paſſage. Indeed the poor pilot did not eſcape the reſentment of his countrymen; for when he came on ſhore he was ſeized and ſent to priſon, and was rigorouſly diſciplined with the bamboo. However, he found means to get at Mr. Anſon afterward, to deſire of him ſome recompence for the chaſtiſement he had undergone, and of which he then carried very ſignificant marks about him: Mr. Anſon, in commiſeration of his ſufferings, gave him ſuch a ſum of money, as would at any time have enticed a Chineſe to have undergone a dozen baſtinadings.

Nor was the pilot the only perſon that ſuffered on this occaſion; for the commodore ſoon after ſeeing ſome royal junks paſs by him from Bocca Tigris toward Canton, he learnt, on enquiry, that the Mandarine commanding the forts was a priſoner on board, that he was already turned out, and was now carrying to Canton, where it was expected he would be ſeverely puniſhed for having permitted the ſhips to paſs.

On the 16th of July, the commodore ſent his ſecond lieutenant to Canton, with a letter for the vice-roy, informing him of the reaſon of the Centurion's putting into that port; and that the commodore himſelf ſoon propoſed to repair to Canton, to pay a viſit to his excellency. The lieutenant was very civilly received, and was promiſed that an anſwer ſhould

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be ſent to the commodore the next day. In the mean time Mr. Anſon gave leave to ſeveral of the officers of the galeon to go to Canton, they engaging their parole to return in two days. When theſe priſoners got to Canton, the regency ſent for them, and examined them, enquiring particularly, by what means they came into Mr. Anſon's power. It luckily happened, that on this occaſion the priſoners were honeſt enough to declare, that as the kings of Great Britain and of Spain were at war, they had propoſed to themſelves the taking of the Centurion, and had bore down upon her with that view; but that the event had been contrary to their hopes. And being queſtioned as to their uſage on board, they frankly acknowleged that they had been treated by the commodore much better than they believed he would have been treated by them, had he fallen into their hands. This confeſſion from an enemy had great weight with the Chineſe, who, till then, though they revered the commodore's military force, had yet ſuſpected his morals; and had conſidered him rather as a lawleſs free-booter, than as one commiſſioned by the ſtate for the revenge of public injuries.

On the 20th of July, in the morning, three Mandarines, with a great number of boats, and a vaſt retinue, came on board the Centurion, and delivered to the commodore the viceroy of Canton's order for a daily ſupply of proviſions, and for pilots to carry the ſhips up the river as far as the ſecond bar; and at the ſame time they delivered him a meſſage from the viceroy, in anſwer to the letter ſent to Canton. The ſubſtance of the meſſage was, that the viceroy deſired to be excuſed from receiving the commodore's viſit, during the then exceſſive hot weather; becauſe the aſſembling the Mandarines and ſoldiers, neceſſary to that ceremony, would prove extremely inconvenient and fatiguing: but that in September, when the weather would be more temperate, he ſhould be glad to ſee both the commodore himſelf, and the Engliſh captain of the other ſhip that was with him.

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As Mr. Anſon knew that an expreſs had been diſpatched to the court at Pekin, with an account of the Centurion and her prize being arrived in the river of Canton; he had no doubt but the principal motive for putting off this viſit was, that the regency at Canton might gain time to receive the emperor's inſtructions, on this unuſual affair.

When the Mandarines had delivered their meſſage, they began to talk to the commodore about the duties to be paid by his ſhips; but he immediately told them, that he would never ſubmit to any demand of that kind; that as he neither brought any merchandize thither, nor intended to carry any away, he could not be deemed within the meaning of the emperor's orders, which were doubtleſs calculated for trading veſſels only: adding, that no duties were ever demanded of men of war, by nations accuſtomed to their reception, and that his maſter's orders expreſsly forbade him from paying any acknowlegment for his ſhip's anchoring in any port whatever.

The Mandarines being thus cut ſhort on the ſubject of the duty, they ſaid they had another matter to mention, which was the only remaining one they had in charge; this was a requeſt to the commodore, that he would releaſe the priſoners he had taken on board the galeon: for that the viceroy of Canton apprehended the emperor, his maſter, might be diſpleaſed, if he ſhould be informed that perſons, who were his allies, and carried on a great commerce with his ſubjects, were under confinement in his dominions. Mr. Anſon himſelf was extremely deſirous to get rid of the Spaniards; however, to enhance the favour, he at firſt raiſed ſome difficulties; but permitting himſelf to be prevailed on, he at laſt told the Mandarines, that to ſhew his readineſs to oblige the viceroy, he would releaſe the priſoners whenever they, the Chineſe, would order boats to fetch them off. This matter being thus adjuſted, the Mandarines departed; and on the 28th of July, two Chineſe junks were ſent from Canton, to take on board the

the priſoners, and to carry them to Macao; and the commodore, agreeable to his promiſe, diſmiſſed them all.

Though the ſhips, in conſequence of the viceroy's permit, found no difficulty in purchaſing proviſions for their daily conſumption; yet it was impoſſible that the commodore could proceed to England, without laying in a large quantity both of proviſions and naval ſtores for his uſe during the voyage. The procuring this ſupply was attended with much perplexity; for there were people at Canton who had undertaken to furniſh him with biſcuit, and whatever elſe he wanted. But a fortnight being elapſed, and nothing brought, the commodore ſent to Canton to enquire more particularly into the reaſons of this diſappointment: and he had ſoon the vexation to be informed that no order had been procured from the viceroy to furniſh him with his ſea-ſtores; that there was no biſcuit baked, nor any one of the articles in readineſs which had been promiſed him; nor did it appear that the contractors had taken the leaſt ſtep to comply with their agreement.

It may perhaps be impoſſible for an European, ignorant of the cuſtoms and manners of that nation, to be fully appriſed of the real incitements to this behaviour. Indeed, thus much may undoubtedly be aſſerted, that in artifice, falſehood, and an attachment to all kinds of lucre, many of the Chineſe are difficult to be paralleled by any other people. But then, the particular application of theſe talents, and the manner in which they operate on every emergency, are often beyond the reach of a foreigner's penetration.

It were endleſs to recount all the artifices, extortions, and frauds, which were practiſed on the commodore and his people, by this intereſted race. The method of buying proviſions in China being by weight, the tricks the Chineſe made uſe of to augment the weight of what they ſold to the Centurion, were almoſt incredible. One time a large quantity of

of fowls and ducks being brought for the ſhip's ſtore, the greateſt part of them preſently died: this ſpread a general alarm on board, it being apprehended that they had been killed by poiſon: but on examination it appeared, that it was only owing to their being crammed with ſtones and gravel to increaſe their weight; the quantity thus forced into moſt of the ducks being found to amount to ten ounces in each. The hogs too, which were bought ready killed of the Chineſe butchers, had water injected into them for the ſame purpoſe; ſo that a carcaſe, hung up all night that the water might drain from it, had loſt above a ſtone of its weight. And when, to avoid this cheat, the hogs were bought alive, it was diſcovered that the Chineſe gave them ſalt to increaſe their thirſt, and having thus excited them to drink great quantities of water, they then took meaſures to prevent them from diſcharging it again by urine, and ſold the tortured animal in this inflated ſtate. When the commodore firſt put to ſea from Macao, they practiſed an artifice of another kind; for as the Chineſe never ſcruple eating any animal that dies of itſelf, they contrived, by ſome ſecret practices, that great part of his live ſea-ſtore ſhould die in a ſhort time after it was put on board, hoping to make a ſecond profit of the dead carcaſes which they expected would be thrown over-board; and two third of the hogs dying before the Centurion was out of ſight of land, many of the Chineſe boats followed her, to pick up the carrion. Theſe inſtances may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the manners of this celebrated nation. But to return:

The commodore, toward the end of September, having found out (as has been ſaid) that thoſe who had contracted to ſupply him with ſea-proviſions and ſtores, had deceived him, and that the viceroy had not invited him to an interview, according to his promiſe; he ſaw it would be impoſſible for him to ſurmount the difficulties he was under, without going to Canton, and viſiting the viceroy. And therefore, on the 27th of September, he ſent a meſſage

to

to the Mandarine who attended the Centurion, to inform him, that he, the commodore, intended, on the 1ſt of October, to proceed in his boat to Canton; adding, that the day after he got there, he ſhould notify his arrival to the viceroy, and ſhould deſire him to fix a time for his audience. This meſſage being delivered to the Mandarine, he returned no other anſwer, than that he would acquaint the viceroy with the commodore's intentions. In the mean time all things were prepared for this expedition: the boat's crew which Mr. Anſon propoſed to take with him, were clothed in an uniform reſembling that of the watermen on the Thames; they were in number eighteen and a cockſwain; they had ſcarlet jackets and blue ſilk waiſtcoats, the whole trimmed with ſilver buttons, beſides ſilver badges on their jackets and caps. As it was apprehended, and even aſſerted, that the payment of the cuſtomary duties for the Centurion and her prize, would be demanded by the regency of Canton, and would be inſiſted on, previous to their granting a permiſſion to victual the ſhip for our future voyage; the commodore, who was reſolved never to eſtabliſh ſo diſhonourable a precedent, took all poſſible precaution to prevent the Chineſe from facilitating the ſucceſs of their unſeaſonable pretenſions, by having him in their power at Canton. And therefore, the better to ſecure his ſhip and the great treaſure on board her, he appointed his firſt lieutenant Mr. Brett, to be captain of the Centurion under him, giving him proper inſtructions for his conduct, if he, the commodore, ſhould be detained at Canton on account of the duties in diſpute. Theſe neceſſary ſteps being taken, which were not unknown to the Chineſe, it ſhould ſeem as if their deliberations were in ſome ſort perplexed thereby; and ſome dirty cunning arts were made uſe of to obſtruct his going up to Canton.

On the 13th of October, however, the commodore continuing firm to his reſolution, all the ſupercargoes of the Engliſh, Daniſh, and Swediſh ſhips came

came on board the Centurion to accompany him to Canton; for which place he ſet out in his barge the ſame day, attended by his own boats, and by thoſe of the trading ſhips, which, on this occaſion, ſent their boats to augment his retinue. As he paſſed by Wampo, where the European veſſels lay, he was ſaluted by all of them but the French, and in the evening he arrived ſafely at Canton.

When the commodore arrived at Canton, he was viſited by the principal Chineſe merchants, who affected to appear very much pleaſed that he had met with no obſtruction in getting thither. In the converſation which paſſed upon this occaſion, they took care to inſinuate, that as ſoon as the viceroy ſhould be informed that Mr. Anſon was at Canton, which they promiſed ſhould be done the next morning, they were perſuaded a time would be immediately appointed for the viſit, which was the principal buſineſs that had brought the commodore to that city.

The next day the merchants returned to Mr. Anſon, and told him, that the viceroy was then ſo fully employed in preparing his diſpatches for Pekin, that there was no getting admittance to him at preſent; but that they had engaged one of the officers of his court to give them information, as ſoon as he ſhould be at leiſure, when they propoſed to notify Mr. Anſon's arrival, and to endeavour to fix the audience. The commodore was already too well acquainted with their artifices not to perceive that this was a falſehood; and had he conſulted only his own judgment, he would have applied directly to the viceroy by other hands. But the Chineſe merchants had ſo far prepoſſeſſed the ſupercargoes of our ſhips with chimerical fears of being embroiled with the government, if thoſe meaſures were taken, which appeared to Mr. Anſon at that time to be the moſt prudential; that he reſolved to continue paſſive as long as it ſhould appear that he loſt no time by thus ſuſpending his own opinion. In purſuance of this reſolution, he propoſed to the Engliſh, that he would

would engage not to take any immediate ſtep himſelf for getting admittance to the viceroy, provided the Chineſe, who contracted to furniſh his proviſions, would let him ſee that his bread was baked, his meat ſalted, and his ſtores prepared with the utmoſt diſpatch. But if, by the time when all was in readineſs to be ſhipped off, which it was ſuppoſed would be in about forty days, the merchants ſhould not have procured the government's permiſſion to ſend it on board, then the commodore was determined to apply to the viceroy himſelf. However, at laſt, the contract being paſt, it was ſome ſatisfaction to the commodore to be certain that his preparations were now going on; and being himſelf on the ſpot, he took care to haſten them as much as poſſible. But when all was compleated, and wanted only to be ſhipped, which was about the 22d of November, at which time too the north-eaſt monſoon was ſet in, he then reſolved to demand an audience of the viceroy, as he was perſuaded that, without this ceremony, the grant of a permiſſion to take his ſtores on board would meet with great difficulty. On the 24th of November, therefore, Mr. Anſon ſent one of his officers to the Mandarine who commanded the guard of the principal gate of the city of Canton, with a letter directed to the viceroy. When this letter was delivered to the Mandarine, he received the officer who brought it very civilly, and took down the contents of it in Chineſe, and promiſed that the viceroy ſhould be immediately acquainted with it.

When Mr. Anſon firſt determined to write this letter, he was under great difficulties about a proper interpreter, as he was well aware that none of the Chineſe, uſually employed as linguiſts, could be relied on; but he at laſt prevailed with Mr. Flint, an Engliſh gentleman belonging to the factory, who ſpoke Chineſe perfectly well, to accompany his officer.

Two days after the ſending the abovementioned letter, a fire broke out in the ſuburbs of Canton. On the firſt alarm, Mr. Anſon went thither with his officers

officers and his boat's crew to aid the Chineſe. When he came there, he found that it had begun in a ſailor's ſhed, and that by pulling down ſome of the adjacent ſheds it might eaſily be extinguiſhed; and particularly obſerving that it was then running along a wooden cornice, which blazed fiercely, and would immediately communicate the flame to a great diſtance, he ordered his people to begin with tearing away that cornice: this was preſently attempted, and would have been ſoon executed; but, in the mean time he was told, that as there was no Mandarine there, who alone has a power to direct on theſe occaſions, the Chineſe would make him, the commodore, anſwerable for whatever ſhould be pulled down by his command. Hereupon Mr. Anſon and his attendants deſiſted; and he ſent them to the Engliſh factory to aſſiſt in ſecuring the company's treaſure and effects, as it was eaſy to foreſee that no diſtance was a protection againſt the rage of ſuch a fire, where ſo little was done to put a ſtop to it; ſince all the while the Chineſe contented themſelves with viewing it, and now and then holding one of their idols near it, which they ſeemed to expect ſhould check its progreſs. Indeed, at laſt, a Mandarine came out of the city, attended by four or five hundred firemen: theſe made ſome feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houſes; but by that time the fire had greatly extended itſelf, and was got amongſt the merchants warehouſes; and the Chineſe firemen, wanting both ſkill and ſpirit, were incapable of checking its violence. In this general confuſion the viceroy himſelf came thither, and the commodore was ſent to, and was entreated to afford his aſſiſtance, being told that he might take any meaſures he ſhould think moſt prudent in the preſent emergency. Upon this meſſage he went thither a ſecond time, carrying with him about forty of his people; who, in the ſight of the whole city, exerted themſelves after ſo extraordinary a manner, that the fire was ſoon extinguiſhed, to the amazement of the Chineſe: and it fortunately happened

pened too, that the buildings being all on one floor, and the materials ſlight, the ſeamen, notwithſtanding their daring behaviour, eſcaped with no other injuries than ſome bruiſes.

Whilſt the commodore and his people were labouring at the fire, and the terror of its becoming general poſſeſſed the whole city, ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable Chineſe merchants came to Mr. Anſon, to deſire that he would let each of them have one of his ſoldiers (for ſuch they ſtiled his boat's crew, from the uniformity of their dreſs) to guard their warehouſes and dwelling-houſes, which, from the known diſhoneſty of the populace, they feared would be pillaged in the tumult. Mr. Anſon granted them this requeſt; and all the men that he thus furniſhed behaved much to the ſatisfaction of the merchants.

The reſolution of the Engliſh in maſtering the fire, and their truſty and prudent conduct where they were employed as ſafeguards, were the general ſubjects of converſation amongſt the Chineſe. And, the next morning, many of the principal inhabitants waited on the commodore to thank him for his aſſiſtance, frankly owning to him, that he had preſerved their city from being totally conſumed, as they could never have extinguiſhed the fire of themſelves. Soon after too a meſſage came to the commodore from the viceroy, appointing the 30th of November for his audience; which ſudden reſolution of the viceroy was alſo owing to the ſignal ſervices performed by Mr. Anſon and his people at the fire.

The fixing this buſineſs of the audience was, on every account, a circumſtance with which Mr. Anſon was much pleaſed; ſince he was ſatisfied the Chineſe government would not have determined this point, without having agreed among themſelves to give up their pretenſions to the duties they claimed, and to grant him all he could reaſonably aſk. Being therefore himſelf perfectly eaſy about the reſult of his viſit, he made the neceſſary preparations againſt the day; and engaged Mr. Flint to act as interpre-

ter in the conference; and Mr. Flint, in this affair, as in all others, acquitted himſelf much to the commodore's ſatisfaction; repeating with great boldneſs, and doubtleſs with exactneſs, whatever was given him in charge; a part which no Chineſe linguiſt would have performed with any tolerable fidelity.

At ten o'clock in the morning, on the day appointed, a Mandarine came to the commodore, to let him know that the viceroy was prepared, and expected him; on which the commodore and his retinue immediately ſet out. As ſoon as he entered the outer gate of the city, he found a guard of two hundred ſoldiers ready to receive him; theſe attended him to the great parade before the emperor's palace, where the viceroy then reſided. In this parade, a body of troops, to the number of ten thouſand, were drawn up under arms, who made a very fine appearance, they being all of them new clothed for this ceremony. Mr. Anſon, with his retinue, having paſſed thro' the middle of them, was conducted to the great hall of audience, where he found the viceroy ſeated under a rich canopy in the emperor's chair of ſtate, with all his council of Mandarines attending. Here there was a vacant ſeat prepared for the commodore, in which he was placed on his arrival. He was ranked the third in order from the viceroy, there being above him only two chiefs of the law, and of the treaſury, who in the Chineſe government have precedence of all military officers. When the commodore was ſeated, he addreſſed himſelf to the viceroy by his interpreter, and began with reciting the various methods he had formerly taken to get an audience; adding, that he imputed the delays he had met with to the inſincerity of thoſe he had employed; and he had therefore no other means left, than to ſend, as he had done, his own officer with a letter to the gate. On the mention of this the viceroy interrupted the interpreter, and bid him aſſure Mr. Anſon, that the firſt knowlege they had of his being at Canton, was from that letter. Mr. Anſon then proceeded, and told

told him, that the ſubjects of the king of Great Britain trading to China, had complained to him, the commodore, of the vexatious impoſitions both of the merchants and inferior cuſtom-houſe officers, to which they were frequently neceſſitated to ſubmit, by reaſon of the great difficulty of getting acceſs to the Mandarines, who alone could grant them redreſs; that it was his, Mr. Anſon's, duty, as an officer of the king of Great Britain, to lay before the viceroy theſe grievances of the Britiſh ſubjects, which he hoped the viceroy would take into conſideration, and would give orders, that hereafter there ſhould be no juſt reaſon for complaint. Here Mr. Anſon pauſed, and waited ſome time in expectation of an anſwer; but nothing being ſaid, he aſked his interpreter if he was certain the viceroy underſtood what he had urged; the interpreter told him, he was certain it was underſtood, but he believed no reply would be made to it. Mr. Anſon then repreſented to the viceroy the caſe of the ſhip Haſlingfield, which having been diſmaſted on the coaſt of China, had arrived in the river of Canton but a few days before. The people on board this veſſel had been great ſufferers by the fire; the captain in particular had all his goods burnt, and had loſt beſide, in the confuſion, a cheſt of treaſure of four thouſand five hundred Tahel, which was ſuppoſed to be ſtolen by the Chineſe boat-men. Mr. Anſon therefore deſired that the captain might have the aſſiſtance of the government, as it was apprehended the money could never be recovered without the aſſiſtance of the Mandarines. To this requeſt the viceroy made anſwer, that in ſettling the emperor's cuſtoms for that ſhip, ſome abatement ſhould be made in conſideration of her loſſes.

And now the commodore having diſpatched the buſineſs with which the officers of the Eaſt India company had entruſted him, he entered on his own affairs; acquainting the viceroy, that the proper ſeaſon was already ſet in for returning to Europe, and that he wanted only a licence to ſhip off his proviſions and

ſtores, which were all ready; and that as ſoon as this ſhould be granted him, and he ſhould have gotten his neceſſaries on board, he intended to leave the river of Canton, and to make the beſt of his way for England. The viceroy replied to this, that the licence ſhould be immediately iſſued, and that every thing ſhould be ordered on board the following day. And, finding that Mr. Anſon had nothing further to inſiſt on, the viceroy continued the converſation for ſome time, acknowleging in very civil terms how much the Chineſe were obliged to him for his ſignal ſervices at the fire, and owning that he had ſaved the city from being deſtroyed: then obſerving that the Centurion had been a good while on their coaſt, he cloſed his diſcourſe by wiſhing the commodore a proſperous voyage to Europe. After which, the commodore, thanking him for his civility and aſſiſtance, took his leave.

As ſoon as the commodore was out of the hall of audience, he was much preſſed to go into a neighbouring apartment, where there was an entertainment provided; but finding, on enquiry, that the viceroy himſelf was not to be preſent, he declined the invitation, and departed, attended in the ſame manner as at his arrival; only on his leaving the city he was ſaluted by three guns, which are as many as in that country are ever fired on any ceremony. Thus the commodore, to his great joy, at laſt finiſhed this troubleſome affair, which for the preceding four months, had given him much diſquietude.

In purſuance of the promiſes of the viceroy, the proviſions were begun to be ſent on board the day ſucceeding the audience; and, four days after, the commodore embarked at Canton for the Centurion. And now all the preparations for putting to ſea were purſued with ſo much vigilance, and were ſo ſoon completed, that the 7th of December, the Centurion and her prize unmoored, and ſtood down the river, paſſing through the Bocca Tigris on the 10th. On this occaſion the Chineſe had taken care to man the

the two forts, on each ſide of that paſſage, with as many men as they could well contain, the greateſt part of them armed with pikes and match-lock muſkets. Theſe garriſons affected to ſhew themſelves, as much as poſſible, to the ſhips, and were doubtleſs intended to induce Mr. Anſon to think more reverently than he had hitherto done of the Chineſe military power: for this purpoſe they were equipped with extraordinary parade, having a great number of colours expoſed to view; and a ſoldier of unuſual ſize, dreſſed in very ſightly armour, ſtalked about on the parapet, with a battle-axe in his hand, endeavouring to put on as important and martial an air as poſſible: though ſome of the obſervers on board the Centurion ſhrewdly ſuſpected, from the appearance of his armour, that inſtead of ſteel, it was compoſed only of a particular kind of glittering paper.

The Centurion and her prize being now without the river of Canton, and conſequently upon the point of leaving the Chineſe juriſdiction, I beg leave to ſubjoin a few remarks on the diſpoſition and genius of that celebrated people.

That the Chineſe are a very ingenious and induſtrious people, is ſufficiently evinced, from the great number of curious manufactures which are eſtabliſhed amongſt them, and which are eagerly ſought for by the moſt diſtant nations; but though ſkill in the handicraft arts ſeems to be the moſt valuable qualification of this people, yet their talents therein are but of a ſecond rate kind; for they are much outdone by the Japaneſe in thoſe manufactures, which are common to both countries; and they are in numerous inſtances incapable of rivaling the mechanic dexterity of the Europeans. Indeed, their principal excellency ſeems to be imitation; and they accordingly labour under that poverty of genius which conſtantly attends all ſervile imitators. This is moſt conſpicuous in the works which require great truth and accuracy; as in clocks, watches, fire-arms, &c. for in all theſe, though they can copy the different parts,

parts, and can form ſome reſemblance of the whole, yet they never could arrive at ſuch a juſtneſs in their fabric as was neceſſary to produce the deſired effect. If we paſs to artiſts of a ſuperior claſs, they ſeem to be ſtill more defective, their paintings being more indebted to the native brightneſs and excellency of the colours than to the ſkill of the painter.

The Chineſe government having alſo been the ſubject of boundleſs panegyric; on this head I muſt obſerve, that by their tranſactions with Mr. Anſon, we have ſeen that their magiſtrates are corrupt, their people thieviſh, and their tribunals venal, and abounding with artifice. Nor is the conſtitution of the empire, or the general orders of the ſtate, leſs liable to exception: ſince that form of government, which does not in the firſt place provide for the ſecurity of the public againſt the enterpriſes of foreign powers, is certainly a moſt defective inſtitution: and yet this populous, this rich and extenſive country, ſo pompouſly celebrated for its refined wiſdom and policy, was conquered about an age ſince by a handful of Tartars; and even now, through the cowardice of the inhabitants, and the want of proper military regulations, it continues expoſed, not only to the attempts of any potent ſtate, but to the ravages of every petty invader. It has been already obſerved, on occaſion of the commodore's diſputes with the Chineſe, that the Centurion alone was an overmatch for all the naval power of that empire: this perhaps may appear an extraordinary poſition; but their junks, though ſome of them are of great burden, are coarſe unmanageable veſſels; and the maſts, ſails, and rigging are ruder than the built; for their maſts are made of trees, no otherwiſe faſhioned than by barking them, and lopping off their branches. Each maſt has only two ſhrouds of twiſted rattan, which are often both ſhifted to the weather-ſide; and the halyard, when the yard is up, ſerves inſtead of a third ſhroud. The ſails are of mat, ſtrengthened every three feet by an horizontal rib of bamboo; they run up the maſt with

with hoops, and when they are lowered down they fold upon the deck. Theſe traders carry no cannon, and are utterly incapable of reſiſting any European armed veſſel. Nor is the ſtate provided with ſhips of conſiderable force, or of a better fabric, to protect their merchantmen: for at Canton, where doubtleſs their principal naval power is ſtationed, we ſaw no more than four men of war junks, of about three hundred tons burthen, being of the make already deſcribed, and mounted only with eight or ten guns, the largeſt of which did not exceed a four-pounder. But it is time to return to the commodore, who, with his two ſhips, on the 12th of December, anchored before the town of Macao.

While the ſhips lay here, the merchants of Macao finiſhed their purchaſe of the galeon, for which they refuſed to give more than 6000 dollars: this was greatly ſhort of her value, but the impatience of the commodore to get to ſea, to which the merchants were no ſtrangers, prompted them to inſiſt on theſe unequal terms. Mr. Anſon had learnt enough from the Engliſh at Canton to conjecture, that the war with Spain was ſtill continued; and that probably the French might engage in the aſſiſtance of Spain, before he could arrive in Great Britain: and therefore, knowing that no intelligence could come to Europe of the prize he had taken, and the treaſure he had on board, till the return of the merchantmen from Canton, he was reſolved to make all poſſible expedition in getting back, that he might be himſelf the firſt meſſenger of his own good fortune. For theſe reaſons, he, to avoid all delay, accepted of the ſum offered for the galeon; and ſhe being delivered to the merchants the 15th of December, 1743, the Centurion, the ſame day, got under ſail, on her return to England. On the 3d of January, ſhe came to anchor at Prince's Iſland in the ſtraits of Sunda, and continued there wooding and watering till the 8th; when ſhe weighed and ſtood for the Cape of

Good Hope, where, on the 11th of March, ſhe anchored in Table-bay.

Here the commodore continued till the beginning of April, highly delighted with the place, which, by its extraordinary accommodations, the healthineſs of its air, and the pictureſque appearance of the country, the whole enlivened too by the addition of a civilized colony; was not diſgraced on a compariſon with the vallies of Juan Fernandes and the lawns of Tinian *. During his ſtay he entered about forty new men; and having by the 3d of April, 1744, completed his water and proviſion, he, on that day, weighed and put to ſea. The 19th of April they ſaw the iſland of St. Helena, which however they did not touch at, but ſtood on their way; and arrived in ſoundings about the beginning of June. They, on the 10th of that month, ſpoke with an Engliſh ſhip bound for Philadelphia, from whom they received the firſt intelligence of a French war. By the 12th of June they got ſight of the Lizard; and the 15th, in the evening, to their infinite joy, they came ſafe to an anchor at Spithead. But that the ſignal perils which had ſo often threatened them in the preceding part of the enterprize, might purſue them to the very laſt, Mr. Anſon learnt on his arrival, that there was a French fleet of conſiderable force cruiſing in the chops of the channel, which, from the account of their poſition, he found the Centurion had ran through, and had been all the time concealed by a fog. Thus was this expedition finiſhed, when it had laſted three years and nine months, after having, by its event, ſtrongly evinced this important truth, that though prudence, intrepidity, and perſeverance united, are not exempted from the blows of adverſe fortune; yet in a long ſeries of tranſactions, they uſually riſe ſuperior to its power, and in the end rarely fail of proving ſucceſsful.

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* See Kolbein's voyage to the Cape, in vol. 2.

END of the THIRD VOLUME.